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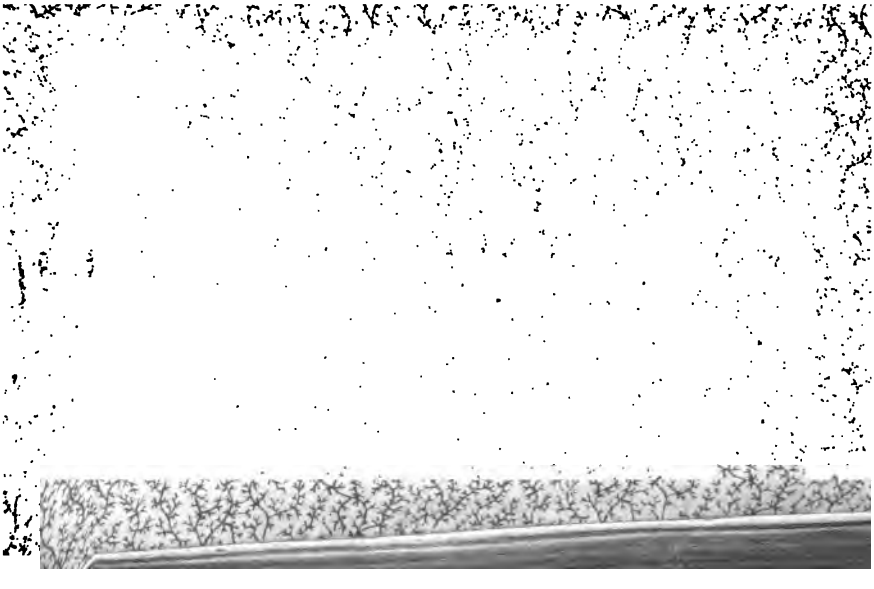
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SIR W TEMPLE'S ESSAYS.

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SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S ESSAYS.

I.

UPON THE GARDENS OF EPICURUS; OR, OF GARDENING IN THE YEAR 1685.

THE same faculty of reason, which gives mankind the great advantage and prerogative over the rest of the creation, seems to make the greatest default of human nature; and subjects it to more troubles, miseries, or at least disquiets of life, than any of its fellow creatures: it is this furnishes us with such variety of passions, and consequently of wants and desires, that none other feels; and these, followed by infinite designs and endless pursuits, and improved by that restlessness of thought which is natural to most men, give him a condition of life suitable to that of his birth; so that, as he alone is born crying, he lives complaining, and dies disappointed.

Since we cannot escape the pursuit of passions, and perplexity of thoughts which our reason furnishes us, there is no way left, but to endeavour all

we can either to subdue or to divert them. T
last is the common business of common men, v
seek it by all sorts of sports, pleasures, play, or b
ness. But, because the two first are of short c
tinuance, soon ending with weariness, or dea
vigour and appetite, the return whereof must be
tended before the others can be renewed; and
cause play grows dull if it be not enlivened v
the hopes of gain; the general diversion of a
kind seems to be business, or the pursuit of ri
in one kind or other; which is an amusement
has this one advantage above all others, that it l
those men who engage in it to the very end
their lives; none ever growing too old for
thoughts and desires of increasing his wealth
fortunes, either for himself, his friends, or his
terity.

In the first and most simple ages of each c
try, the conditions and lives of men seem to
been very near of kin with the rest of the creatu
they lived by the hour or by the day, and sati
their appetite with what they could get from
herbs, the fruits, the springs they met with, w
they were hungry or dry; then, with what fish, f
or beasts they could kill, by swiftness or stren
by craft or contrivance, by their hands, or such
struments as wit helped, or necessity forced the
invent. When a man had got enough for the
he laid up the rest for the morrow, and spent
day in labour that he might pass the other at ea
and lured on by the pleasure of this bait, when
was in vigour, and his game fortunate, he wo
provide for as many days as he could, both for h
self and his children, that were too young to

out for themselves. Then he cast about, how by sowing of grain, and by pasture of the tamer cattle, to provide for the whole year. After this, dividing the lands necessary for these uses, first among children, and then among servants, he reserved to himself a proportion of their gain, either in the native stock, or something equivalent, which brought in the use of money; and where this once came in, none was to be satisfied, without having enough for himself and his family, and all his and their posterity, for ever; so that I know a certain lord who professes to value no lease, though for a hundred or a thousand years, nor any estate or possession of land, that is not for ever and ever.

From such small beginnings, have grown such vast and extravagant designs of poor mortal men: yet none could ever answer the naked Indian, why one man should take pains, and run hazards by sea and land, all his life, that his children might be safe and lazy all theirs: and the precept of taking no care for to-morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the world, seems but to reduce mankind to their natural and original condition of life. However, by these ways and degrees, the endless increase of riches seems to be grown the perpetual and general amusement or business of mankind.

Some few in each country make those higher flights after honour and power, and to these ends sacrifice their riches, their labour, their thought, and their lives; and nothing diverts nor busies men more than these pursuits, which are usually covered with the pretences of serving a man's country, and of public good. But the true service of the public is a business of so much labour and so much care,

that though a good and wise man may not r
it, if he be called to it by his prince or his c
try, and thinks he can be of more than vulgar
yet he will seldom or never seek it, but leav
commonly to men who, under the disguise of p
good, pursue their own designs of wealth, po
and such bastard honours as usually attend th
not that which is the true, and only true rewa
virtue.

The pursuits of ambition, though not so gen
yet are as endless as those of riches, and as extr
gant; since none ever yet thought he had pow
empire enough: and what prince soever seem
be so great, as to live and reign without any
ther desires or fears, falls into the life of a pr
man, and enjoys but those pleasures and enter
ments which a great many several degrees of pr
fortune will allow, and as much as human n
is capable of enjoying.

The pleasures of the senses grow a little
choice and refined: those of imagination are
upon embellishing the scenes he chooses to l
ease, conveniency, elegancy, magnificence, are
in building first, and then in furnishing hc
palaces: the admirable imitations of nature
troduced by pictures, statues, tapestry, an
such achievements of arts: and the most e
delights of sense are pursued, in the contriv
plantation of gardens; which, with fruits
shades, fountains, and the music of birds
quent such happy places, seem to furnis
pleasures of the several senses, and with
est, or at least the most natural perfectic

Thus the first race of Assyrian kings

conquests of Ninus and Semiramis, passed their lives, till their empire fell to the Medes; thus the caliphs of Egypt, till deposed by their Mamalukes; thus passed the latter parts of those great lives of Scipio, Lucullus, Augustus, Dioclesian; thus turned the great thoughts of Henry II. of France, after the end of his wars with Spain; thus the present king of Morocco, after having subdued all his competitors, passes his life in a country villa, gives audience in a grove of orange-trees planted among purling streams; and thus the king of France, after all the successes of his counsels or arms, and in the mighty elevation of his present greatness and power, when he gives himself leisure from such designs or pursuits, passes the softer and easier parts of his time in country houses and gardens, in building, planting, or adorning the scenes, or in the common sports and entertainments of such kind of lives. And those mighty emperors, who contented not themselves with these pleasures of common humanity, fell into the frantic or the extravagant; they pretended to be gods, or turned to be devils, as Caligula and Nero, and too many others known enough in story.

Whilst mankind is thus generally busied or amused, that part of them, who have had either the justice or the luck to pass in common opinion for the wisest and the best part among them, have followed another and very different scent; and instead of the common designs of satisfying their appetites and their passions, and making endless provisions for both, they have chosen what they thought a nearer and a surer way to the ease and felicity of life, by endeavouring to subdue, or at least to tem-

per their passions, and reduce their appetites
what nature seems only to ask and to need: s
this design seems to have brought philosophy i
the world, at least that which is termed moral, s
appears to have an end not only desirable by ev
man, which is the ease and happiness of life,
also, in some degree, suitable to the force and re
of human nature: for, as to that part of philoso
which is called natural, I know no end it can ha
but that of either busying a man's brains to no p
pose, or satisfying the vanity so natural to m
men, of distinguishing themselves, by some way
other, from those that seem their equals in bi
and the common advantages of it; and whether t
distinction be made by wealth or power, or appe
ance of knowledge, which gains esteem and appla
in the world, is all a case. More than this, I kn
no advantage mankind has gained by the progr
of natural philosophy, during so many ages it
had vogue in the world, excepting always, and v
justly, what we owe to the mathematics, which
in a manner, all that seems valuable among the
vilised nations, more than those we call barbaro
whether they are so or no, or more so than o
selves.

How ancient this natural philosophy has been
the world is hard to know; for we find freq
mention of ancient philosophers in this ki
among the most ancient now extant with us. T
first who found out the vanity of it seems to h
been Solomon, of which discovery he has left s
admirable strains in Ecclesiastes: the next
Socrates, who made it the business of his life to
plode it, and introduce that which we call mora

its place, to busy human minds to better purpose; and, indeed, whoever reads with thought what these two, and Marcus Antoninus, have said upon the vanity of all that mortal man can ever attain to know of nature, in its originals or operations, may save himself a great deal of pains, and justly conclude, that the knowledge of such things is not our game; and (like the pursuit of a stag by a little spaniel) may serve to amuse and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think those three I have named may justly pass for the wisest triumvirate that are left us upon the records of story or of time.

After Socrates, who left nothing in writing, many sects of philosophers began to spread in Greece, who entered boldly upon both parts of natural and moral philosophy: the first, with the greatest disagreement, and the most eager contention that could be upon the greatest subjects; as, whether the world were eternal, or produced at some certain time? whether, if produced, it was by some eternal mind, and to some end, or by the fortuitous concourse of atoms, or some particles of eternal matter? whether there was one world, or many? whether the soul of man was a part of some ethereal and eternal substance, or was corporeal? whether, if eternal, it was so before it came into he body, or only after it went out? There were he same contentions about the motions of the avens, the magnitude of the celestial bodies, the ulties of the mind, and the judgment of the ses. But all the different schemes of nature t have been drawn of old, or of late, by Plato, otle, Epicurus, Des Cartes, Hobbes, or any other

that I know of, seem to agree but in one thing, which is, the want of demonstration or satisfaction to any thinking and unpossessed man; and seem more or less probable one than another, according to the wit and eloquence of the authors and advocates that raise or defend them; like jugglers' tricks, that have more or less appearance of being real, according to the dexterousness and skill of him that plays them; whereas, perhaps, if we were capable of knowing truth and nature, these fine schemes would prove like rover shots, some nearer, and some farther off, but all at great distance from the mark; it may be, none in sight.

Yet, in the midst of these and many other such disputes and contentions in their natural philosophy, they seemed to agree much better in their moral; and, upon their inquiries after the ultimate end of man, which was his happiness, their contentions or differences seemed to be rather in words, than in the sense of their opinions, or in the true meaning of their several authors or masters of their sects: all concluded that happiness was the chief good, and ought to be the ultimate end of man; that, as this was the end of wisdom, so wisdom was the way to happiness. The question then was, in what this happiness consisted? The contention grew warmest between the Stoics and Epicureans; the other sects, in this point, siding in a manner with one or the other of these in their conceptions or expressions. The Stoics would have it to consist in virtue, and the Epicureans in pleasure; yet the most reasonable of the Stoics made the pleasure of virtue to be the greatest happiness; and the best of the Epicureans made the greatest pleasure to

consist in virtue; and the difference between these two seems not easily discovered. All agreed, the greatest temper, if not the total subduing of passion, and exercise of reason, to be the state of the greatest felicity; to live without desires or fears, or those perturbations of mind and thought which passions raise; to place true riches in wanting little, rather than in possessing much; and true pleasure in temperance, rather than in satisfying the senses; to live with indifference to the common enjoyments and accidents of life, and with constancy upon the greatest blows of fate or of chance; not to disturb our minds with sad reflexions upon what is past, nor with anxious cares or raving hopes about what is to come; neither to disquiet life with the fears of death, nor death with the desires of life; but in both, and in all things else, to follow nature,—seem to be the precepts most agreed among them.

Thus reason seems only to have been called in to allay those disorders which itself had raised, to cure its own wounds, and pretends to make us wise no other way than by rendering us insensible. This at least was the profession of many rigid Stoics, who would have had a wise man, not only without any sort of passion, but without any sense of pain as well as pleasure; and to enjoy himself in the midst of diseases and torments, as well as of health and ease: a principle, in my mind, against common nature and common sense; and which might have told us, in fewer words, or with less circumstance, that a man, to be wise, should not be a man; and this, perhaps, might have been easy enough to believe, but nothing so hard as the other.

The Epicureans were more intelligible in their notion, and fortunate in their expression, when they placed a man's happiness in the tranquillity of mind, and indolence of body; for while we are composed of both, I doubt both must have a share in the good or ill we feel. As men of several languages say the same things in very different words; so in several ages, countries, constitutions of laws and religion, the same thing seems to be meant by very different expressions: what is called by the Stoics apathy, or dispassion; by the Sceptics indisturbance; by the Molinists quietism; by common men peace of conscience; seems all to mean but great tranquillity of mind, though it be made to proceed from so diverse causes, as human wisdom, innocence of life, or resignation to the will of God. An old usurer had the same notion, when he said, "No man could have peace of conscience, that run out of his estate;" not comprehending what else was meant by that phrase, besides true quiet and content of mind; which, however expressed, is, I suppose, meant by all to be the best account that can be given of the happiness of man, since no man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondered how such sharp and violent invectives came to be made so generally against Epicurus by the ages that followed him, whose admirable wit, felicity of expression, excellence of nature, sweetness of conversation, temperance of life, and constancy of death, made him so beloved by his friends, admired by his scholars, and honoured by the Athenians. But this injustice may be fastened chiefly upon the envy and malignity of the Stoics at first, then upon the mistakes of some

gross pretenders to his sect, (who took pleasure only to be sensual) and afterwards, upon the piety of the primitive Christians, who esteemed his principles of natural philosophy more opposite to those of our religion, than either the Platonists, the Peripatetics, or Stoics themselves: yet, I confess, I do not know why the account given by Lucretius of the gods, should be thought more impious than that given by Homer, who makes them not only subject to all the weakest passions, but perpetually busy in all the worst or meanest actions of men.

But Epicurus has found so great advocates of his virtue, as well as learning and inventions, that there need no more; and the testimonies of Diogenes Laertius alone seem too sincere and impartial to be disputed, or to want the assistance of modern authors: if all failed, he would be but too well defended by the excellence of so many of his sect in all ages, and especially of those who lived in the compass of one, but the greatest in story, both as to persons and events: I need name no more than Cæsar, Atticus, Mæcenas, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace; all admirable in their several kinds, and, perhaps, unparalleled in story.

Cæsar, if considered in all lights, may justly challenge the first place in the registers we have of mankind; equal only to himself, and surpassing all others of his nation and his age, in the virtues and excellencies of a statesman, a captain, an orator, an historian; besides all these, a poet, a philosopher, when his leisure allowed him; the greatest man of counsel and of action, of design and execution; the greatest nobleness of birth, of person,

and of countenance; the greatest humanity and clemency of nature, in the midst of the greatest provocations, occasions, and examples of cruelty and revenge: it is true, he overturned the laws and constitutions of his country; yet it was after so many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far, to change and violate them; so as, in what he did, he seems rather to have prevented others, than to have done what himself designed; for though his ambition was vast, yet it seems to have been raised to those heights, rather by the insolence of his enemies, than by his own temper; and that what was natural to him, was only a desire of true glory, and to acquire it by good actions as well as great, by conquests of barbarous nations, extent of the Roman empire; defending at first the liberties of the plebeians, opposing the faction that had begun in Sylla and ended in Pompey; and, in the whole course of his victories and successes, seeking all occasions of bounty to his friends, and clemency to his enemies.

Atticus appears to have been one of the wisest and best of the Romans; learned without pretending, good without affectation, bountiful without design, a friend to all men in misfortune, a flatterer to no man in greatness or power, a lover of mankind, and beloved by them all; and by these virtues and dispositions, he passed safe and untouched through all the flames of civil dissensions that ravaged his country the greatest part of his life; and, though he never entered into any public affairs or particular factions of his state, yet he was favoured, honoured, and courted by them all, from Sylla to Augustus.

Mæcenas was the wisest counsellor, the truest friend both of his prince and his country, the best governor of Rome, the happiest and ablest negotiator, the best judge of learning and virtue, the choicest in his friends, and thereby the happiest in his conversation, that has been known in story; and I think, to his conduct in civil, and Agrippa's in military affairs, may be truly ascribed all the fortunes and greatness of Augustus, so much celebrated in the world.

For Lucretius, Virgil, and Horace, they deserve, in my opinion, the honour of the greatest philosophers, as well as the best poets of their nation or age. The two first, besides what looks like something more than human in their poetry, were very great naturalists, and admirable in their morals; and Horace, besides the sweetness and elegancy of his lyrics, appears, in the rest of his writings, so great a master of life, and of true sense in the conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean strain of his philosophy, to refuse being secretary to Augustus, when so great an emperor so much desired it. But all the different sects of philosophers seem to have agreed in the opinion of a wise man's abstaining from public affairs, which is thought the meaning of Pythagoras's precept, to abstain from beans, by which the affairs or public resolutions in Athens were managed. They thought that sort of business too gross and material for the abstracted fineness of their speculations: they esteemed it too sordid and too artificial for the cleanness and simplicity of their manners and lives: they would have no part in the faults of a government; and they knew too well, that the nature and

passions of men made them incapable of any that was perfect and good; and therefore thought all the service they could do to the state they lived under, was to mend the lives and manners of particular men that composed it. But where factions were once entered and rooted in a state, they thought it madness for good men to meddle with public affairs; which made them turn their thoughts and entertainments to any thing rather than this; and Heraclitus having, upon the factions of the citizens, quitted the government of his city, and amusing himself to play with the boys in the porch of the temple, asked those who wondered at him, whether it was not better to play with such boys, than govern such men? But above all, they esteemed public business the most contrary of all others to that tranquillity of mind, which they esteemed and taught to be the only true felicity of man.

For this reason, Epicurus passed his life wholly in his garden: there he studied, there he exercised, there he taught his philosophy; and, indeed, no other sort of abode seems to contribute so much to both the tranquillity of mind, and indolence of body, which he made his chief ends. The sweetness of air, the pleasantness of smell, the verdure of plants, the cleanness and lightness of food, the exercise of working or walking; but above all, the exemption from cares and solicitude, seem equally to favour and improve both contemplation and health, the enjoyment of sense and imagination, and thereby the quiet and ease both of the body and mind.

Though Epicurus be said to have been the first that had a garden in Athens, whose citizens be-

fore him had theirs in their villas or farms without the city; yet the use of gardens seems to have been the most ancient and most general of any sorts of possession among mankind, and to have preceded those of corn or of cattle, as yielding the easier, the pleasanter, and more natural food. As it has been the inclination of kings and the choice of philosophers, so it has been the common favourite of public and private men; a pleasure of the greatest, and the care of the meanest; and, indeed, an employment and a possession, for which no man is too high nor too low.

If we believe the Scripture, we must allow that God Almighty esteemed the life of a man in a garden the happiest he could give him, or else he would not have placed Adam in that of Eden; that it was the state of innocence and pleasure; and that the life of husbandry and cities came after the fall, with guilt and with labour.

Where Paradise was, has been much debated, and little agreed; but what sort of place is meant by it may perhaps easier be conjectured. It seems to have been a Persian word, since Xenophon and other Greek authors mention it, as what was much in use and delight among the kings of those Eastern countries. Strabo, describing Jericho, says, *Ibi est palmetum, cui immixtæ sunt etiam aliæ stirpes hortenses, locus ferax, palmis abundans, spatio stadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi est regi et balsami paradisus.* He mentions another place to be *prope Libanum et Paradisum:* and Alexander is written to have seen Cyrus's tomb in Paradise, being a tower not very great, and covered with a shade of trees about it: so that a paradise among

them seems to have been a large space of ground, adorned and beautified with all sorts of trees, both of fruits and of forest, either found there before it was enclosed, or planted after; either cultivated like gardens, for shades and for walks, with fountains or streams, and all sorts of plants usual in the climate, and pleasant to the eye, the smell, or the taste; or else employed like our parks, for enclosure and harbour of all sorts of wild beasts, as well as for the pleasure of riding and walking: and so they were of more or less extent, and of different entertainment, according to the several humours of the princes that ordered and enclosed them.

Semiramis is the first we are told of in story that brought them in use through her empire, and was so fond of them, as to make one wherever she built, and in all or most of the provinces she subdued—which are said to have been from Babylon as far as India. The Assyrian kings continued this custom and care, or rather this pleasure, till one of them brought in the use of smaller and more regular gardens: for having married a wife he was fond of, out of one of the provinces, where such paradises or gardens were much in use; and the country lady not well bearing the air or enclosure of the palace in Babylon, to which the Assyrian kings used to confine themselves—he made her gardens, not only within the palaces, but upon terraces raised with earth, over the arched roofs, and even upon the top of the highest tower; planted them with all sorts of fruit-trees, as well as other plants and flowers, the most pleasant of that country; and thereby made at least the most airy gardens, as well as the most costly, that have been

heard of in the world. This lady may probably have been a native of the provinces of Chasimer or of Damascus, which have, in all times, been the happiest regions for fruits of all the East, by the excellence of soil, the position of mountains, the frequency of streams, rather than the advantages of climate: and it is a great pity we do not yet see the history of Chasimer, which Monsieur Bernier assured me he had translated out of Persian, and intended to publish; and of which he has given such a taste, in his excellent Memoirs of the Mogul's country.

The next gardens we read of are those of Solomon, planted with all sorts of fruit-trees, and watered with fountains; and though we have no more particular description of them, yet we may find, they were the places where he passed the times of his leisure and delight; where the houses, as well as grounds, were adorned with all that could be pleasing and elegant; and were the retreats and entertainments of those among his wives that he loved the best: and it is not improbable, that the paradises mentioned by Strabo were planted by this great and wisest king. But the idea of the garden must be very great, if it answer at all to that of the gardener, who must have employed a great deal of his care and of his study, as well as of his leisure and thought, in these entertainments, since he wrote of all plants, from the cedar to the shrub.

What the gardens of the Hesperides were, we have little or no account, farther than the mention of them; and thereby the testimony of their having been in use and request in such remoteness of place and antiquity of time.

The garden of Alcinous, described by Homer, seems wholly poetical, and made at the pleasure of the painter, like the rest of the romantic palace in that little barren island of Phæacia or Corfu: yet, as all the pieces of this transcendent genius are composed with excellent knowledge, as well as fancy; so they seldom fail of instruction as well as delight, to all that read him. The seat of this garden, joining to the gates of the palace, the compass of the enclosure being four acres; the tall trees of shade, as well as those of fruit; the two fountains, the one for the use of the garden, and the other of the palace; the continual succession of fruits throughout the whole year—are, for aught I know, the best rules or provision that can go towards composing the best gardens; nor is it unlikely, that Homer may have drawn this picture after the life of some he had seen in Ionia, the country and usual abode of this divine poet, and, indeed, the region of the most refined pleasure and luxury, as well as invention and wit: for the humour and custom of gardens may have descended earlier into the Lower Asia, from Damascus, Assyria, and other parts of the Eastern empires, though they seem to have made late entrance and smaller improvement in those of Greece and Rome; at least, in no proportion to their other inventions or refinements of pleasure and luxury.

The long and flourishing peace of the two first empires gave earlier rise and growth to learning and civility, and all the consequences of them, in magnificence and elegancy of building and gardening; whereas Greece and Rome were almost perpetually engaged in quarrels and wars either abroad

or at home, and so were busy in actions that were done under the sun, rather than those under the shade. These were the entertainments of the softer nations, that fell under the virtue and prowess of the two last empires, which from those conquests brought home mighty increases both of riches and luxury, and so, perhaps, lost more than they got by the spoils of the East.

There may be another reason for the small advance of gardening, in those excellent and more temperate climates, where the air and soil were so apt of themselves to produce the best sorts of fruits, without the necessity of cultivating them by labour and care; whereas the hotter climates, as well as the cold, are forced upon industry and skill, to produce or improve many fruits that grow of themselves in the more temperate regions. However it were, we have very little mention of gardens in old Greece or in old Rome, for pleasure or with elegance, nor of much curiousness or care, to introduce the fruits of foreign climates, contenting themselves with those which were native of their own; and these were the vine, the olive, the fig, the pear, and the apple: Cato, as I remember, mentions no more; and their gardens were then but the necessary parts of their farms, intended particularly for the cheap and easy food of their hinds or slaves employed in their agriculture, and so were turned chiefly to all the common sorts of plants, herbs, or *legumes* (as the French call them) proper for common nourishment; and the name of *hortus* is taken to be from *ortus*, because it perpetually furnishes some rise or production of something new in the world.

Lucullus, after the Mithridatic war, first brought cherries from Pontus into Italy, which so generally pleased, and were so easily propagated in all climates, that within the space of about a hundred years, having travelled westward with the Roman conquests, they grew common as far as the Rhine, and passed over into Britain. After the conquest of Africa, Greece, the Lesser Asia, and Syria, were brought into Italy all the sorts of their *mala*, which we interpret *apples*, and might signify no more at first, but were afterwards applied to many other foreign fruits: the apricots, coming from Epire, were called *mala Epirotica;* peaches from Persia, *mala Persica;* citrons of Media, *Medica;* pomegranates from Carthage, *Punica;* quinces, *Cathonea*, from a small island in the Grecian seas: their best pears were brought from Alexandria, Numidia, Greece, and Numantia—as appears by their several appellations; their plums, from Armenia, Syria, but chiefly from Damascus. The kinds of these are reckoned, in Nero's time, to have been near thirty, as well as of figs; and many of them were entertained at Rome with so great applause, and so general vogue, that the great captains, and even consular men, who first brought them over, took pride in giving them their own names, (by which they run a great while in Rome) as in memory of some great service or pleasure they had done their country; so that not only laws and battles, but several sorts of apples or *mala*, and of pears, were called Manlian and Claudian, Pompeian and Tiberian, and by several other such noble names.

Thus the fruits of Rome, in about a hundred

years, came from countries as far as their conquests had reached; and, like learning, architecture, painting, and statuary, made their great advances in Italy about the Augustan age. What was of most request in their common gardens in Virgil's time, or at least in his youth, may be conjectured by the description of his old Corycian's gardens in the fourth of the Georgics, which begins,

Namque sub Œbaliæ memini me turribus altis.

Among flowers, the roses had the first place, especially a kind which bore twice a year; and none other sorts are here mentioned besides the narcissus, though the violet and the lily were very common, and the next in esteem—especially the *breve lilium*, which was the tuberose. The plants he mentions, are the *apium*, which, though commonly interpreted parsley, yet comprehends all sorts of smallage, whereof celery is one; *cucumis*, which takes in all sorts of melons, as well as cucumbers; *olus*, which is a common word for all sorts of pot-herbs and legumes; *verbenas*, which signifies all kinds of sweet or sacred plants that were used for adorning the altars; as bays, olive, rosemary, myrtle: the *acanthus* seems to be what we called pericanthe; but what their *hederæ* were, that deserved place in a garden, I cannot guess, unless they had sorts of ivy unknown to us; nor what his *vescum papaver* was, since poppies with us are of no use in eating. The fruits mentioned are only apples, pears, and plums; for olives, vines, and figs were grown to be fruits of their fields, rather than of their gardens. The shades were the elm,

the pine, the lime-tree, and the platanus, or plane-tree—whose leaf and shade, of all others, was the most in request—and, having been brought out of Persia, was such an inclination among the Greeks and Romans, that they usually fed it with wine instead of water; they believed this tree loved that liquor, as well as those that used to drink under its shade; which was a great humour and custom, and perhaps gave rise to the other, by observing the growth of the tree, or largeness of the leaves, where much wine was spilt or left, and thrown upon the roots.

It is great pity, the haste which Virgil seems here to have been in, should have hindered him from entering farther into the account or instructions of gardening, which he said he could have given, and which he seems to have so much esteemed and loved, by that admirable picture of this old man's felicity, which he draws like so great a master, with one stroke of a pencil, in those four words:

Regum æquabat opes animis;

that in the midst of these small possessions, upon a few acres of barren ground, yet he equalled all the wealth and opulence of kings, in the ease, content, and freedom of his mind.

I am not satisfied with the common acceptation of the *mala aurea* for oranges: nor do I find any passage in the authors of that age, which gives me the opinion, that these were otherwise known to the Romans than as fruits of the Eastern climates. I should take their *mala aurea* to be rather some kind of apples, so called from the golden colour,

as some are amongst us; for, otherwise, the orange-tree is too noble in the beauty, taste, and smell of its fruit; in the perfume and virtue of its flowers; in the perpetual verdure of its leaves, and in the excellent uses of all these, both for pleasure and health—not to have deserved any particular mention in the writings of an age and nation so refined and exquisite in all sorts of delicious luxury.

The charming description Virgil makes of the happy apple, must be intended either for the citron, or for some sort of orange growing in Media, which was either so proper to that country as not to grow in any other, (as a certain sort of fig was to Damascus) or to have lost its virtue by changing soils, or to have had its effect of curing some sort of poison that was usual in that country, but particular to it: I cannot forbear inserting those few lines out of the second of Virgil's Georgics, not having ever heard any body else take notice of them.

Media fert tristes succos, tardumque saporem
Felicis mali; quo non præsentius ullum
(Pocula si quando sævæ infecêre novercæ,
Miscueruntque herbas, et non innoxia verba)
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena.
Ipsa ingens arbos, faciemque simillima lauro:
Et, si non alios late jactaret odores,
Laurus erit: folia haud ullis labentia ventis;
Flos apprima tenax: animas et olentia Medi
Ora fovent illo, ac senibus medicantur anhelis.

Media brings poisonous herbs, and the flat taste
Of the bless'd apple, than which ne'er was found
A help more present, when cursed step-dames mix
Their mortal cups, to drive the venom out:
'Tis a large tree, and like a bays in hue;

> And, did it not such odours cast about,
> 'Twould be a bays: the leaves with no winds fall;
> The flowers all excel; with these the Medes
> Perfume their breaths, and cure old pursy men.

The tree being so like a bays or laurel, the slow or dull taste of the apple, the virtue of it against poison, seem to describe the citron; the perfume of the flowers, and virtues of them, to cure ill scents of mouth or breath, or shortness of wind in pursy old men, seem to agree most with the orange: if *flos apprima tenax* mean only the excellence of the flower above all others, it may be intended for the orange: if it signifies the flowers growing most upon the tops of the trees, it may be rather the citron; for I have been so curious as to bring up a citron from a kernel, which at twelve years of age began to flower; and I observed all the flowers to grow upon the top branches of the tree, but to be nothing so high or sweet-scented as the orange. On the other side, I have always heard oranges to pass for a cordial juice, and a great preservative against the plague, which is a sort of venom; so that I know not to which of these we are to ascribe this lovely picture of the happy apple: but I am satisfied by it, that neither of them was at all common, if at all known in Italy, at that time, or long after, though the fruit be now so frequent there in fields, (at least in some parts) and make so common and delicious a part of gardening, even in these northern climates.

It is certain, those noble fruits, the citron, the orange, and the lemon, are the native product of those noble regions, Assyria, Media, and Persia;

and, though they have been from thence transplanted and propagated in many parts of Europe, yet they have not arrived at such perfection in beauty, taste, or virtue, as in their native soil and climate. This made it generally observed, among the Greeks and Romans, that the fruits of the East far excelled those of the West; and several writers have trifled away their time in deducing the reasons of this difference, from the more benign or powerful influence of the rising sun. But there is nothing more evident to any man that has the least knowledge of the globe, and gives himself leave to think, than the folly of such wise reasons; since the regions that are east to us, are west to some others; and the sun rises alike to all that lie in the same latitude, with the same heat and virtue upon its first approaches, as well as in its progress. Besides, if the Eastern fruits were the better only for that position of climate, then those of India should excel those of Persia—which we do not find by comparing the accounts of those countries: but Assyria, Media, and Persia have been ever esteemed, and will be ever found, the true regions of the best and noblest fruits in the world. The reason of it can be no other than that of an excellent and proper soil being there extended under the best climate for the production of all sorts of the best fruits; which seems to be from about twenty-five to about thirty-five degrees of latitude. Now the regions under this climate in the present Persian empire (which comprehends most of the other two, called anciently Assyria and Media) are composed of many provinces full of great and fertile plains, bounded by high mountains, especially to the north;

watered naturally with many rivers, and those, by art and labour, derived into many more and smaller streams, which all conspire to form a country, in all circumstances, the most proper and agreeable for production of the best and noblest fruits: whereas, if we survey the regions of the Western world, lying in the same latitude between twenty-five and thirty-five degrees, we shall find them extend either over the Mediterranean sea, the ocean, or the sandy barren countries of Africa; and that no part of the continent of Europe lies so southward as thirty-five degrees: which may serve to discover the true genuine reason, why the fruits of the East have been always observed and agreed to transcend those of the West.

In our north-west climates, our gardens are very different from what they were in Greece and Italy, and from what they are now in those regions in Spain, or the southern parts of France: and as most general customs in countries grow from the different nature of climate, soils, or situations, and from the necessities or industry they impose, so do these.

In the warmer regions, fruits and flowers of the best sorts are so common, and of so easy production, that they grow in fields, and are not worth the cost of enclosing, or the care of more than ordinary cultivating. On the other side, the great pleasures of those climates are coolness of air, and whatever looks cool even to the eyes, and relieves them from the unpleasant sight of dusty streets, or parched fields: this makes the gardens of those countries to be chiefly valued by largeness of extent, (which gives greater play and openness of air) by shades

of trees, by frequency of living streams or fountains, by perspectives, by statues, and by pillars and obelisks of stone scattered up and down, which all conspire to make any place look fresh and cool. On the contrary, the more northern climates, as they suffer little by heat, make little provision against it, and are careless of shade, and seldom curious in fountains. Good statues are in the reach of few men, and common ones are generally and justly despised or neglected. But no sorts of good fruits or flowers, being natives of the climates, or usual among us; (nor indeed the best sort of plants, herbs, salads for our kitchen-gardens themselves) and the best fruits not ripening without the advantage of walls and palisadoes, by reflection of the faint heat we receive from the sun, our gardens are made of smaller compass, seldom exceeding four, six, or eight acres, enclosed with walls, and laid out in a manner wholly for advantage of fruits, flowers, and the product of kitchen-gardens in all sorts of herbs, salads, plants, and legumes, for the common use of tables.

These are usually the gardens of England and Holland, as the first sort are those of Italy, and were so of old. In the more temperate parts of France, and in Brabant, (where I take gardening to be at its greatest height) they are composed of both sorts, the extent more spacious than ours; part laid out for flowers, others for fruits; some standards, some against walls or palisadoes, some for forest-trees, and groves for shade; some parts wild, some exact; and fountains much in request among them.

But after so much ramble into ancient times, and remote places, to return home and consider the pre-

sent way and humour of our gardening in England, which seem to have grown into such vogue, and to have been so mightily improved in three or four-and-twenty years of his majesty's reign, that perhaps few countries are before us, either in the elegance of our gardens, or in the number of our plants; and, I believe, none equal us in the variety of fruits which may be justly called good; and, from the earliest cherry and strawberry, to the last apples and pears, may furnish every day of the circling year. For the taste and perfection of what we esteem the best, I may truly say, that the French, who have eaten my peaches and grapes at Sheen, in no very ill year, have generally concluded, that the last are as good as any they have eaten in France, on this side Fontainbleau; and the first as good as any they have eat in Gascony; I mean those which come from the stone, and are properly called peaches—not those which are hard, and are termed pavies; for these cannot grow in too warm a climate, nor ever be good in a cold; and are better at Madrid, than in Gascony itself. Italians have agreed, my white figs to be as good as any of that sort in Italy, which is the earlier kind of white fig there; for in the latter kind, and the blue, we cannot come near the warm climates, no more than in the Frontiniac or Muscat grape.

My orange-trees are as large as any I saw when I was young in France, except those of Fontainbleau, or what I have seen since in the Low Countries, except some very old ones of the prince of Orange's; as laden with flowers as any can well be, as full of fruit as I suffer or desire them, and as well tasted as are commonly brought over, except the

best sorts of Seville and Portugal. And thus much I could not but say in defence of our climate, which is so much and so generally decried abroad, by those who never saw it; or, if they have been here, have yet perhaps seen no more of it than what belongs to inns, or to taverns and ordinaries; who accuse our country for their own defaults, and speak ill, not only of our gardens and houses, but of our humours, our breeding, our customs and manners of life, by what they have observed of the meaner and baser sort of mankind; and of company among us, because they wanted themselves, perhaps, either fortune or birth, either quality or merit, to introduce them among the good.

I must needs add one thing more in favour of our climate, which I heard the king say, and I thought new and right, and truly like a king of England, that loved and esteemed his own country: it was in reply to some of the company that were reviling our climate, and extolling those of Italy and Spain, or at least, of France: he said, he thought that was the best climate, where he could be abroad in the air with pleasure, or at least without trouble or inconvenience, the most days of the year, and the most hours of the day; and this, he thought, he could be in England, more than in any country he knew of in Europe: and I believe it is true, not only of the hot and the cold, but even among our neighbours in France, and the Low Countries themselves; where the heats or the colds, and changes of seasons, are less treatable than they are with us.

The truth is, our climate wants no heat to produce excellent fruits; and the default of it is only

the short season of our heats or summers, by which many of the latter are left behind, and imperfect with us: but all such as are ripe before the end of August, are, for aught I know, as good with us as any where else. This makes me esteem the true region of gardens in England, to be the compass of ten miles about London; where the accidental warmth of air, from the fires and steams of so vast a town, makes fruits, as well as corn, a great deal forwarder than in Hampshire or Wiltshire, though more southward by a full degree.

There are, besides the temper of our climate, two things particular to us, that contribute much to the beauty and elegance of our gardens; which are the gravel of our walks, and the fineness and almost perpetual greenness of our turf: the first is not known any where else, which leaves all their dry walks, in other countries, very unpleasant and uneasy; the other cannot be found in France or in Holland as we have it, the soil not admitting that fineness of blade in Holland, nor the sun that greenness in France, during most of the summer; nor indeed is it to be found but in the finest of our soils.

Whoever begins a garden, ought, in the first place, and above all, to consider the soil, upon which the taste of not only his fruits, but his legumes, and even herbs and salads, will wholly depend; and the default of soil is without remedy: for, although all borders of fruit may be made with what earth you please, (if you will be at the charge) yet it must be renewed in two or three years, or it runs into the nature of the ground where it is brought. Old trees spread their roots farther than any body's care

extends, or the forms of the garden will allow; and, after all, where the soil about you is ill, the air is so too in a degree, and has influence upon the taste of fruit. What Horace says of the productions of kitchen-gardens, under the name of *caulis*, is true of all the best sorts of fruits, and may determine the choice of soil for all gardens.

> Caule suburbano, qui siccis crevit in agris,
> Dulcior; irriguis nihil est elutius hortis.
>
> Plants from dry fields those of the town excel;
> Nothing more tasteless is than water'd grounds.

Any man had better throw away his care and his money upon any thing else, than upon a garden in wet or moist ground. Peaches and grapes will have no taste but upon a sand or gravel; but the richer these are, the better; and neither salads, pease, or beans, have at all the taste, upon a clay or rich earth, as they have upon either of the others, though the size and colour of fruits and plants may, perhaps, be more upon the worse soils.

Next to your choice of soil, is to suit your plants to your ground, since of this every one is not master; though, perhaps, Varro's judgment upon this case is the wisest and the best; for to one that asked him what he should do if his father or ancestors had left him a seat in an ill air, or upon an ill soil? he answered, "Why sell it, and buy another in good."—"But what, if I cannot get half the worth?"—"Why, then take a quarter; but, however, sell it for any thing, rather than live upon it."

Of all sorts of soil, the best is that upon a sandy

gravel, or a rosiny sand: whoever lies upon either of these may run boldly into all the best sort of peaches and grapes, how shallow soever the turf be upon them; and whatever other tree will thrive in these soils, the fruits shall be of a much finer taste than any other: a richer soil will do well enough for apricots, plums, pears, or figs; but still the more of the sand in your earth the better, and the worse the more of the clay, which is proper for oaks, and no other tree that I know of.

Fruits should be suited to the climate among us, as well as the soil; for there are degrees of one and the other in England, where it is to little purpose to plant any of the best fruits, as peaches or grapes, hardly, I doubt, beyond Northamptonshire, at the farthest, northwards; and I thought it very prudent in a gentleman of my friends in Staffordshire, who is a great lover of his garden, to pretend no higher, though his soil be good enough, than to the perfection of plums; and in these (by bestowing south walls upon them) he has very well succeeded, which he could never have done in attempts upon peaches and grapes; and a good plum is certainly better than an ill peach.

When I was at Cosevelt, with that bishop of Munster that made so much noise in his time, I observed no other trees but cherries in a great garden he had made. He told me the reason was, because he found no other fruit would ripen well in that climate, or upon that soil; and therefore, instead of being curious in others, he had only been so in the sorts of that, whereof he had so many, as never to be without them from May to the end of September.

As to the size of a garden, which will perhaps, in time, grow extravagant among us, I think from four or five to seven or eight acres is as much as any gentleman need design, and will furnish as much of all that is expected from it, as any nobleman will have occasion to use in his family.

In every garden, four things are necessary to be provided for—flowers, fruit, shade, and water; and whoever lays out a garden without all these, must not pretend it in any perfection: it ought to lie to the best parts of the house, or to those of the master's commonest use, so as to be but like one of the rooms out of which you step into another. The part of your garden next your house, (besides the walks that go round it) should be a parterre for flowers, or grass-plots, bordered with flowers; or if, according to the newest mode, it be cast all into grass-plots and gravel walks, the dryness of these should be relieved with fountains, and the plainness of those with statues; otherwise, if large, they have an ill effect upon the eye. However, the part next the house should be open, and no other fruit but upon the walls. If this take up one half of the garden, the other should be fruit-trees, unless some grove for shade lie in the middle: if it take up a third part only, then the next third may be dwarf-trees, and the last standard-fruit; or else, the second part fruit-trees, and the third all sorts of winter-greens, which provide for all seasons of the year.

I will not enter upon any account of flowers, having only pleased myself with seeing or smelling them, and not troubled myself with the care, which is more the ladies' part than the men's; but the

success is wholly in the gardener. For fruits, th best we have in England, or, I believe, can eve hope for, are, of peaches, the white and red mand lin, the minion, the chevereuse, the ramboullet, th musk, the admirable, which is late; all the rest ar either varied by names, or not to be named wit these, nor worth troubling a garden, in my opinio Of the pavies, or hard peaches, I know none goo here but the Newington, nor will that easily han till it is full ripe. The forward peaches are to b esteemed only because they are early, but shoul find room in a good garden, at least the white an brown nutmeg, the Persian and the violet musk The only good nectarines are the murry and th French; of these there are two sorts, one ver round, and the other something long; but the roun is the best: of the murry there are several sorts but being all hard, they are seldom well ripene with us.

Of grapes, the best are the chasselas, which the better sort of our white muscadine; (as the use name was about Sheen) it is called the pearl-gra and ripens well enough in common years, but n so well as the common black, or currant, which something a worse grape. The parsley is good, proper enough to our climate; but all white Fr tiniacs are difficult, and seldom ripe, unless in traordinary summers.

I have had the honour of bringing over four into England; the arboyse, from the Franche Cor which is a small white grape, or rather run some small, and some great, upon the same b it agrees well with our climate, but is very in soil, and must have a sharp gravel; it is th

delicious of all grapes that are not muscat: the Burgundy, which is a grizelin or pale red, and of all others is surest to ripen in our climate, so that I have never known them to fail one summer these fifteen years, when all others have; and have had it very good upon an east wall: a black muscat, which is called the dowager, and ripens as well as the common white grape: and the fourth is the grizelin Frontiniac, being of that colour, and the highest of that taste, and the noblest of all grapes I ever ate in England; but requires the hottest wall and the sharpest gravel; and must be favoured by the summer too, to be very good. All these are, I suppose, by this time, pretty common among some gardeners in my neighbourhood, as well as several persons of quality; for I have ever thought all things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of figs, there are among us the white, the blue, and the tawny: the last is very small, bears ill, and I think but a bauble: of the blue, there are two or three sorts, but little different; one something longer than the other; but that kind which smells most is ever the best: of the white, I know but two sorts, and both excellent; one ripe in the beginning of July, the other in the end of September, and is yellower than the first; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raise, though an excellent fruit.

Of apricots, the best are the common old sort, and the largest masculin; of which, this last is much improved by budding upon a peach stock. I esteem none of this fruit but the Brussels apricot, which grows a standard, and is one of the best

fruits we have, and which I first brought over among us.

The number of good pears, especially summer, is very great, but the best are the blanquet, robin, rousselet, rosati, sans, pepin, jargonel: of the autumn, the buree, the vertelongue, and the bergamot: of the winter, the vergoluz, chasseray, St. Michael, St. Germain, and ambret. I esteem the bon-cretien with us good for nothing but to bake.

Of plums, the best are St. Julian, St. Catherine, white and blue pedrigon, queen-mother, Sheen plum, and cheston.

Beyond the sorts I have named, none I think need trouble himself, but multiply these rather than make room for more kinds; and I am content to leave this register, having been so often desired it by my friends, upon their designs of gardening.

I need say nothing of apples, being so well known among us; but the best of our climate, and I believe of all others, is the golden pippin, and for all sorts of uses; the next is the Kentish pippin; but these, I think, are as far from their perfection with us as grapes, and yield to those of Normandy, as these to those in Anjou; and even these to those in Gascony. In other fruits, the defect of sun is in a great measure supplied by the advantage of walls.

The next care to that of suiting trees with the soil, is that of suiting fruits to the position of walls: grapes, peaches, and winter-pears, to be good, must be planted upon full south, or south-east; figs are best upon south-east, but will do well upon east and south-west: the west are proper for cherries, plums,

or apricots; but all of them are improved by a south wall both as to early and taste: north, north-west, or north-east, deserve nothing but greens: these should be divided by woodbines or jessamines between every green, and the other walls by a vine between every fruit-tree; the best sorts upon the south walls, the common white and black upon east and west; because the other trees being many of them (especially peaches) very transitory, some apt to die with hard winters, others to be cut down and make room for new fruits—without this method the walls are left for several years unfurnished; whereas the vines on each side cover the void space in one summer, and when the other trees are grown, make only a pillar between them of two or three feet broad.

Whoever would have the best fruits, in the most perfection our climate will allow, should not only take care of giving them as much sun, but also as much air, as he can: no tree, unless dwarf, should be suffered to grow within forty feet of your best walls, but the farther they lie open is still the better. Of all others, this care is most necessary in vines, which are observed abroad to make the best wines, where they lie upon sides of hills, and so most exposed to the air and the winds. The way of pruning them too is best learned from the vineyards, where you see nothing in winter, but what looks like a dead stump; and upon our walls they should be left but like a ragged staff, not above two or three eyes at most upon the bearing branches; and the lower the vine and fewer the branches, the grapes will be still the better.

The best figure of a garden is either a square or

an oblong, and either upon a flat or a descent; they have all their beauties, but the best I esteem an oblong upon a descent. The beauty, the air, the view, makes amends for the expense, which is very great, in finishing and supporting the terrace walks, in levelling the parterres, and in the stone stairs that are necessary from one to the other.

The perfectest figure of a garden I ever saw, either at home or abroad, was that of Moor-Park in Hertfordshire, when I knew it about thirty years ago: it was made by the countess of Bedford, esteemed amongst the greatest wits of her time, and celebrated by Doctor Donne; and with very great care, excellent contrivance, and much cost: but greater sums may be thrown away without effect or honour, if there want sense in proportion to money, or if nature be not followed; which I take to be the great rule in this, and perhaps in every thing else, as far as the conduct, not only of our lives, but our governments: and whether the greatest of mortal men should attempt the forcing of nature, may best be judged by observing how seldom God Almighty does it himself, by so few true and undisputed miracles as we see or hear of in the world. For my own part, I know not three wiser precepts for the conduct either of princes or private men, than

> ——servare modum, finemque tueri,
> Naturamque sequi.

Because I take the garden I have named to have been in all kinds the most beautiful and perfect, at least in the figure and disposition, that I have ever

seen, I will describe it, for a model to those that meet with such a situation, and are above the regards of common expense. It lies on the side of a hill, (upon which the house stands) but not very steep. The length of the house, where the best rooms, and of most use or pleasure are, lies upon the breadth of the garden; the great parlour opens into the middle of a terrace gravel-walk that lies even with it, and which may be, as I remember, about three hundred paces long, and broad in proportion; the border set with standard laurels, and at large distances, which have the beauty of orange-trees, out of flower and fruit: from this walk are three descents by many stone steps, in the middle and at each end, into a very large parterre: this is divided into quarters by gravel walks, and adorned with two fountains and eight statues in the several quarters; at the end of the terrace-walk are two summer-houses, and the sides of the parterre are ranged with two large cloisters, open to the garden, upon arches of stone, and ending with two other summer-houses even with the cloisters, which are paved with stone, and designed for walks of shade, there being none other in the whole parterre. Over these two cloisters are two terraces covered with lead, and fenced with balusters; and the passage into these airy walks is out of the two summer-houses, at the end of the first terrace walk. The cloister facing the south is covered with vines, and would have been proper for an orange-house, and the other for myrtles, or other more common greens; and had, I doubt not, been cast for that purpose, if this piece of gardening had been then in as much vogue as it is now.

From the middle of the parterre is a descent, by many steps flying on each side of a grotto that lies between them, (covered with lead, and flat) into the lower garden, which is all fruit trees, ranged about the several quarters of a wilderness which is very shady: the walks here are all green, the grotto embellished with figures of shell-rock-work, fountains, and water-works. If the hill had not ended with the lower garden, and the wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the park, they might have added a third quarter of all greens; but this want is supplied by a garden on the other side the house, which is all of that sort, very wild, shady, and adorned with rough rock-work and fountains.

This was Moor-Park when I was acquainted with it, and the sweetest place, I think, that I have seen in my life, either before or since, at home or abroad: what it is now, I can give little account, having passed through several hands that have made great changes in gardens as well as houses; but the remembrance of what it was is too pleasant ever to forget; and therefore I do not believe to have mistaken the figure of it, which may serve for a pattern to the best gardens of our manner, and that are most proper for our country and climate.

What I have said of the best forms of gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other forms wholly irregular, that may, for aught I know, have more beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extraordinary dispositions of nature in the seat, or some great race of fancy or judgment in the contrivance, which may reduce many disagreeing parts

into some figure, which shall yet, upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the Chineses; a people, whose way of thinking seems to lie as wide of ours in Europe, as their country does. Among us, the beauty of building and planting is placed chiefly in some certain proportions, symmetries, or uniformities; our walks and our trees ranged so as to answer one another, and at exact distances: the Chineses scorn this way of planting, and say, a boy, that can tell a hundred, may plant walks of trees in straight lines, and over against one another, and to what length and extent he pleases. But their greatest reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures, where the beauty shall be great, and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts that shall be commonly or easily observed: and, though we have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet they have a particular word to express it; and, where they find it hit their eye at first sight, they say the *sharawadgi* is fine, or is admirable, or any such expression of esteem. And whoever observes the work upon the best India gowns, or the painting upon their best screens, or porcelains, will find their beauty is all of this kind; that is, without order. But I should hardly advise any of these attempts in the figure of gardens among us; they are adventures of too hard achievement for any common hands; and though there may be more honour if they succeed well, yet there is more dishonour if they fail, and it is twenty to one they will; whereas, in regular figures, it is hard to make any great and remarkable faults.

The picture I have met with in some relations of a garden made by a Dutch governor of their colony upon the Cape de Bonne Esperance, is admirable, and described to be of an oblong figure, very large extent, and divided into four quarters, by long and cross walks, ranged with all sorts of orange-trees, lemons, limes, and citrons: each of these four quarters is planted with the trees, fruits, flowers, and plants that are native and proper to each of the four parts of the world; so as in this one enclosure are to be found the several gardens of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. There could not be, in my mind, a greater thought of a gardener, nor a nobler idea of a garden, nor better suited or chosen for the climate, which is about thirty degrees, and may pass for the Hesperides of our age, whatever or wherever the other was. Yet this is agreed by all to have been in the islands or continent upon the south-west of Africa; but what their forms or their fruits were, none, that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their golden apples were for taste, or only for sight, as those of Montezuma were in Mexico, who had large trees, with stocks, branches, leaves, and fruits, all admirably composed and wrought of gold; but this was only stupendous in cost and art, and answers not at all, in my opinion, the delicious varieties of nature in other gardens.

What I have said of gardening is perhaps enough for any gentleman to know, so as to make no great faults, nor be much imposed upon in the designs of that kind, which I think ought to be applauded and encouraged in all countries; that and building being a sort of creation, that raise beautiful fabrics and

figures out of nothing, that make the convenience and pleasure of all private habitations, that employ many hands, and circulate much money among the poorer sort and artisans; that are a public service to one's country, by the example as well as effect, which adorn the scene, improve the earth, and even the air itself, in some degree. The rest that belongs to this subject must be a gardener's part; upon whose skill, diligence, and care, the beauty of the grounds and excellence of the fruits will much depend: though, if the soil and sorts be well chosen, well suited, and disposed to the walls, the ignorance or carelessness of the servants can hardly leave the master disappointed.

I will not enter farther upon his trade, than by three short directions or advices: first, in all plantations, either for his master or himself, to draw his trees out of some nursery that is upon a leaner and lighter soil than his own, where he removes them: without this care, they will not thrive in several years, perhaps never; and must make way for new, which should be avoided all that can be; for life is too short and uncertain to be renewing often your plantations. The walls of your garden, without their furniture, look as ill as those of your house; so that you cannot dig up your garden too often, nor too seldom cut them down.

The second is, in all trees you raise, to have some regard to the stock, as well as the graft or bud; for the first will have a share in giving taste and season to the fruits it produces, how little soever it is usually observed by our gardeners. I have found grafts of the same tree, upon a bon-cretien stock, bring chasseray pears that lasted till March, but

with a rind green and rough; and others, upon a metre-john-stock, with a smooth and yellow skin, which were rotten in November. I am apt to think, all the difference between the St. Michael and the ambrette pear (which has puzzled our gardeners) is only what comes from this variety of the stocks; and by this, perhaps, as well as by raising from stones and kernels, most of the new fruits are produced every age. So the grafting a crab upon a white thorn brings the lazarolli, a fruit esteemed at Rome, though I do not find it worth cultivating here; and I believe the cidrato (or hermaphrodite) came from budding a citron upon an orange. The best peaches are raised by buds of the best fruits upon stocks growing from stones of the best peaches; and so the best apples and pears, from the best kinds grafted upon stocks, from kernels also of the best sorts, with respect to the season, as well as beauty and taste: and I believe so many excellent winter-pears, as have come into France since forty years, may have been found out by grafting summer pears of the finest taste and most water upon winter-stocks.

The third advice is, to take the greatest care and pains in preserving your trees from the worst disease, to which those of the best fruits are subject in the best soils, and upon the best walls. It is what has not been (that I know of) taken notice of with us, till I was forced to observe it by the experience of my gardens; though I have since met with it in books both ancient and modern. I found my vines, peaches, apricots, and plums, upon my best south-walls, and sometimes upon my west, apt, for several years, to a soot or smuttiness upon their

leaves first, and then upon their fruits, which were good for nothing the years they were so affected. My orange-trees were likewise subject to it, and never prospered while they were so; and I have known some collections quite destroyed by it: but I cannot say that ever I found either my figs or pears infected with it, nor any trees upon my east-walls, though I do not well conjecture at the reason. The rest were so spoiled with it, that I complained to several of the oldest and best gardeners of England, who knew nothing of it, but that they often fell into the same misfortune, and esteemed it some blight of the spring. I observed, after some years, that the diseased trees had, very frequent, upon their stocks and branches, a small insect of a dark brown colour, figured like a shield, and about the size of a large wheat corn: they stuck close to the bark, and in many places covered it, especially about the joints: in winter they are dry, and thin-shelled; but in spring they begin to grow soft, and to fill with moisture, and to throw a spawn like a black dust upon the stocks, as well as the leaves and fruits.

I met afterwards with the mention of this disease, as known among orange trees, in a book written upon that subject in Holland, and since in Pausanias, as a thing so much taken notice of in Greece, that the author describes a certain sort of earth which cures *pediculos vitis*, or the lice of the vine. This is of all others the most pestilent disease of the best fruit trees, and upon the very best soils of gravel and sand; (especially where they are too hungry) and is so contagious, that it it is propagated to new plants raised from old trees that are infected, and spreads to new ones that are planted

near them; which makes me imagine, that it lies in the root, and that the best cure were by application there: but I have tried all sorts of soil without effect, and can prescribe no other remedy, than to prune your trees as close as you can, especially the tainted wood; then to wash them very clean with a wet brush, so as not to leave one shell upon them that you can discern; and upon your oranges to pick off every one that you can find, by turning every leaf, as well as brushing clean the stocks and branches. Without these cares and diligences, you had better root up any trees that are infected, renew all the mould in your borders or boxes, and plant new sound trees, rather than suffer the disappointments and vexation of your old ones.

I may perhaps be allowed to know something of this trade, since I have so long allowed myself to be good for nothing else, which few men will do, or enjoy their gardens, without often looking abroad to see how other matters play, what motions in the state, and what invitations they may hope for into other scenes.

For my own part, as the country life, and this part of it more particularly, were the inclination of my youth itself, so they are the pleasure of my age; and I can truly say, that, among many great employments that have fallen to my share, I have never asked or sought for any one of them, but often endeavoured to escape from them, into the ease and freedom of a private scene, where a man may go his own way and his own pace, in the common paths or circles of life.

Inter cuncta leges et percunctabere doctos,
Quâ ratione queas traducere leniter ævum,

Quid minuat curæ, quid te tibi reddet amicum,
Quid pure tranquillet, honos, an dulce lucellum,
An secretum iter, et fallentis semita vitæ.

But above all, the learned read, and ask
By what means you may gently pass your age,
What lessens care, what makes thee thine own friend,
What truly calms the mind—honour, or wealth,
Or else a private path of stealing life.

These are questions that a man ought at least to ask himself, whether he asks others or no; and to choose his course of life rather by his own humour and temper, than by common accidents, or advice of friends; at least, if the Spanish proverb be true, that a fool knows more in his own house than a wise man in another's.

The measure of choosing well is, whether a man likes what he has chosen; which, I thank God, has befallen me; and though, among the follies of my life, building and planting have not been the least, and have cost me more than I have the confidence to own; yet they have been fully recompensed by the sweetness and satisfaction of this retreat, where, since my resolution taken of never entering again into any public employments, I have passed five years without ever going once to town, though I am almost in sight of it, and have a house there always ready to receive me. Nor has this been any sort of affectation, as some have thought it; but a mere want of desire or humour to make so small a remove; for when I am in this corner, I can truly say with Horace,

Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quid sentire putas, quid credis, amice, precari?

Sit mihi, quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi viv
Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volunt Di.
Sit bona librorum, et provisæ frugis in annum,
Copia, ne fluitem dubiæ spe pendulus horæ..
Hoc satis est orasse Jovem, qui donat et aufert.

Me, when the cold Digentian stream revives,
What does my friend believe I think or ask?
Let me yet less possess, so I may live,
Whate'er of life remains, unto myself.
May I have books enough, and one year's store,
Not to depend upon each doubtful hour,
This is enough of mighty Jove to pray,
Who, as he pleases, gives and takes away.

That which makes the cares of gardening necessary, or at least more excusable, is, t men eat fruit that can get it; so as the ch only, whether one will eat good or ill: a tween these the difference is not greater in taste and delicacy, than it is of health: for t I will only say, that whoever has used to e will do very great penance when he come and for the other, I think nothing is more than an ill or unripe fruit is extremely unwl and causes so many untimely deaths, or so n ness about autumn, in all great cities, v greedily sold as well as eaten; so no pa in any season, is so healthful, so natu agreeable to the stomach, as good and w fruits; for this I make the measure of good: and, let the kinds be what they will not ripen perfectly in our clima better never planted, or never eaten. for myself at least, and all my friends,

son of summer fruits is ever the season of health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of June to the end of September; and for all sicknesses of the stomach, (from which most others are judged to proceed) I do not think any that are, like me, the most subject to them, shall complain, whenever they eat thirty or forty cherries before meals, or the like proportion of strawberries, white figs, soft peaches, or grapes perfectly ripe. But these, after Michaelmas, I do not think wholesome with us, unless attended by some fit of hot and dry weather, more than is usual after that season; when the frosts or the rain hath taken them, they grow dangerous, and nothing but the autumn and winter-pears are to be reckoned in season, besides apples, which, with cherries, are, of all others, the most innocent food, and perhaps the best physic. Now whoever will be sure to eat good fruit, must do it out of a garden of his own: for besides the choice so necessary in the sorts, the soil, and so many other circumstances that go to compose a good garden, or produce good fruits, there is something very nice in gathering them, and choosing the best, even from the same tree. The best sorts of all among us, which I esteem the white figs and the soft peaches, will not carry without suffering. The best fruit that is bought, has no more of the master's care, than how to raise the greatest gains; his business is to have as much fruit as he can upon a few trees; whereas the way to have it excellent is to have but little upon many trees. So that for all things out of a garden, either of salads or fruits, a poor man will eat better, that has one of his own,

than a rich man that has none: and this is all I think of necessary and useful to be known upon this subject.

II.

OF HEALTH AND LONG LIFE.

I CAN truly say, that of all the paper I have blotted, which has been a great deal in my time, I have never written any thing for the public without the intention of some public good. Whether I have succeeded or no, is not my part to judge; and others, in what they tell me, may deceive either me or themselves. Good intentions are at least the seed of good actions; and every man ought to sow them, and leave it to the soil and the seasons whether they come up or no, and whether he or any other gather the fruit.

I have chosen those subjects of these essays, wherein I take human life to be most concerned, and which are of most common use, or most necessary knowledge; and wherein, though I may not be able to inform men more than they know, yet I may perhaps give them the occasion to consider more than they do.

This is a sort of instruction that no man can dislike, since it comes from himself, and is made without envy or fear, constraint or obligation, which make us commonly dislike what is taught us by others. All men would be glad to be their own

masters, and should not be sorry to be their own scholars, when they pay no more for their learning than their own thoughts, which they have commonly more store of about them than they know what to do with; and which, if they do not apply to something of good use, nor employ about something of ill, they will trifle away upon something vain or impertinent: their thoughts will be but waking dreams, as their dreams are sleeping thoughts. Yet, of all sorts of instructions, the best is gained from our own thoughts as well as experience: for though a man may grow learned by other men's thoughts, yet he will grow wise or happy only by his own; the use of other men's, towards these ends, is but to serve for one's own reflections; otherwise, they are but like meat swallowed down for pleasure or greediness, which only charges the stomach, or fumes into the brain, if it be not well digested, and thereby turned into the very mass or substance of the body that receives it.

Some writers, in casting up the goods most desirable in life, have given them this rank; health, beauty, and riches. Of the first, I find no dispute; but to the two others much may be said: for beauty is a good that makes others happy rather than one's self; and how riches should claim so high a rank, I cannot tell, when so great, so wise, and so good a part of mankind have, in all ages, preferred poverty before them—the Therapeutæ and Ebionites among the Jews, the primitive monks and modern friars among Christians, so many dervises among the Mahometans, the Brachmans among the Indians, and all the ancient philosophers; who, whatever

else they differed in, agreed in this, of despising riches, and at best esteeming them an unnecessary trouble or encumbrance of life: so that whether they are to be reckoned among goods or evils, is yet left in doubt.

When I was young, and in some idle company, it was proposed that every one should tell what their three wishes should be, if they were sure to be granted: some were very pleasant, and some very extravagant; mine were health, and peace, and fair weather; which, though out of the way among young men, yet perhaps might pass well enough among old: they are all of a strain; for health in the body is like peace in the state, and serenity in the air: the sun, in our climate at least, has something so reviving, that a fair day is a kind of sensual pleasure, and of all others the most innocent.

Peace is a public blessing, without which no man is safe in his fortunes, his liberty, or his life: neither innocence or laws are a guard of defence; no possessions are enjoyed but in danger or fear, which equally lose the pleasure and ease of all that fortune can give us. Health is the soul that animates all enjoyments of life, which fade, and are tasteless, if not dead, without it: a man starves at the best and the greatest tables, makes faces at the noblest and most delicate wines, is old and impotent in seraglios of the most sparkling beauties, poor and wretched in the midst of the greatest treasures and fortunes: with common diseases strength grows decrepit, youth loses all vigour, and beauty all charms; music grows harsh, and conversation disagreeable; palaces are prisons, or of equal confinement; riches are useless, honour and attend-

ance are cumbersome, and crowns themselves are a burden: but, if diseases are painful and violent, they equal all conditions of life, make no difference between a prince and a beggar; and a fit of the stone or the colic puts a king to the rack, and makes him as miserable as he can do the meanest, the worst, and most criminal of his subjects.

To know that the passions or distempers of the mind makes our lives unhappy, in spite of all accidents and favours of fortune, a man perhaps must be a philosopher; and requires much thought, and study, and deep reflections. To be a Stoic, and grow insensible of pain, as well as poverty or disgrace, one must be perhaps something more or less than a man, renounce common nature, oppose common truth, and constant experience: but there needs little learning or study, more than common thought and observation, to find out, that ill health loses, not only the enjoyments of fortune, but the pleasures of sense, and even of imagination, and hinders the common operations both of body and mind from being easy and free. Let philosophers reason and differ about the chief good or happiness of man; let them find it where they can, and place it where they please; but there is no mistake so gross, or opinion so impertinent, (how common soever) as to think pleasures arise from what is without us, rather than from what is within; from the impression given us of objects, rather than from the disposition of the organs that receive them. The various effects of the same objects upon different persons, or upon the same persons at different times, make the contrary most evident. Some distempers make things look yellow, others double

what we see; the commonest alter our tastes and our smells, and the very foulness of ears changes sounds. The difference of tempers, as well as of age, may have the same effect, by the many degrees of perfection or imperfection in our original tempers, as well as of strength or decay, from the differences of health and of years: from all which it is easy, without being a great naturalist, to conclude, that our perceptions are formed, and our imaginations raised upon them, in a very great measure, by the dispositions of the organs through which the several objects make their impressions; and that these vary, according to the different frame and temper of the others; as the sound of the same breath passing through an oaten pipe, a flute, or a trumpet.

But to leave philosophy, and return to health. Whatever is true in point of happiness depending upon the temper of the mind, it is certain that pleasures depend upon the temper of the body; and that, to enjoy them, a man must be well himself, as the vessel must be sound to have your wine sweet: for otherwise, let it be never so pleasant and so generous, it loses the taste; and pour in never so much, it all turns sour, and were better let alone. Whoever will eat well, must have a stomach; who will relish the pleasure of drinks, must have his mouth in taste; who will enjoy a beautiful woman, must be in vigour himself; nay, to find any felicity, or take any pleasure in the greatest advantages of honour and fortune, a man must be in health. Who would not be covetous, and with reason, if this could be purchased with gold? who not ambitious, if it were at the command of power,

or restored by honour? But alas! a white staff will not help gouty feet to walk better than a common cane; nor a blue riband bind up a wound so well as a fillet: the glitter of gold or of diamonds will but hurt sore eyes, instead of curing them; and an aching head will be no more eased by wearing a crown than a common night-cap.

If health be such a blessing, and the very source of all pleasure, it may be worth the pains to discover the regions where it grows, the springs that feed it, the customs and methods by which it is best cultivated and preserved. Towards this end, it will be necessary to consider the examples or instances we meet with of health and long life, which is the consequence of it; and to observe the places, the customs, and the conditions of those who enjoyed them in any degree extraordinary; from whence we may best guess at the causes, and make the truest conclusions.

Of what passed before the flood, we know little from Scripture itself, besides the length of their lives; so as I shall only observe upon that period of time, that men are thought neither to have eat flesh nor drunk wine before it ended: for to Noah first seems to have been given the liberty of feeding upon living creatures, and the prerogative of planting the vine. Since that time we meet with little mention of very long lives in any stories either sacred or profane, besides the patriarchs of the Hebrews, the Brachmans among the old Indians, and the Brazilians at the time that country was discovered by the Europeans: many of these were said then to have lived two hundred, some three hundred years: the same terms of life are

attributed to the old Brachmans; and how long those of the patriarchs were, is recorded in Scripture. Upon all these, I shall observe, that the patriarchs' abodes were not in cities, but in open countries and fields; that their lives were pastoral, or employed in some sorts of agriculture; that they were of the same race, to which their marriages were generally confined; that their diet was simple, as that of the ancients is generally represented, among whom flesh or wine was seldom used but at sacrifices or solemn feasts. The Brachmans were all of the same races; lived in fields and in woods, after the course of their studies was ended; and fed only upon rice, milk, or herbs. The Brazilians, when first discovered, lived the most natural original lives of mankind, so frequently described in ancient countries, before laws, or property, or arts made entrance among them; and so their customs may be concluded to have been yet more simple than either of the other two: they lived without business or labour, farther than for their necessary food, by gathering fruits, herbs, and plants: they knew no drink but water; were not tempted to eat nor drink beyond common thirst or appetite; were not troubled with either public or domestic cares; nor knew any pleasures but the most simple and natural.

From all these examples and customs, it may probably be concluded, that the common ingredients of health and long life (where births are not impaired from the conception by any derived infirmities of the race they come from) are great temperance, open air, easy labour, little care, simplicity of diet, rather fruits and plants than flesh, which

easier corrupts; and water, which preserves the radical moisture, without too much increasing the radical heat: whereas, sickness, decay, and death, proceed commonly from the one preying too fast upon the other, and at length wholly extinguishing it.

I have sometimes wondered, that the regions of so much health and so long lives were all under very hot climates; whereas the more temperate are allowed to produce the strongest and most vigorous bodies: but weaker constitutions may last as long as the strong, if better preserved from accidents; so Venice glass as long as an earthen pitcher, if carefully kept; and, for one life that ends by mere decay of nature or age, millions are intercepted by accidents from without, or diseases within; by untimely deaths or decays; from the effects of excess and luxury, immoderate repletion or exercise; the preying of our minds upon our bodies by long passions or consuming cares, as well as those accidents which are called violent. Men are perhaps most betrayed to all these dangers by great strength and vigour of constitution, by more appetite and larger fare in colder climates: in the warm, excesses are found more pernicious to health, and so more avoided; and if experience and reflection do not cause temperance among them, yet it is forced upon them by the faintness of appetite. I can find no better account of a story sir Francis Bacon tells, of a very old man, whose customs and diet he inquired; but he said he observed none besides eating before he was hungry and drinking before he was dry; for by that rule he was sure never to eat nor drink much at a time: besides, the warmth of air keeps the pores open, and by

continual perspiration breathes out those humours which breed most diseases, if in cooler climates it be not helped by exercise: and this I take to be the reason of our English constitutions finding so much benefit by the air of Montpelier, especially in long colds or consumptions, or rather lingering diseases; though I have known some who attributed the restoring of their health there as much to the fruits as the air of that place.

I know not whether there may be any thing in the climate of Brazil more propitious to health than in other countries: for besides what was observed among the natives upon the first European discoveries, I remember Don Francisco de Melo, a Portugal ambassador in England, told me, it was frequent in his country, for men spent with age or other decays, so as they could not hope for above a year or two of life, to ship themselves away in a Brazil fleet, and after their arrival there to go on a great length, sometime of twenty or thirty years, or more, by the force of that vigour they recovered with that remove. Whether such an effect might grow from the air, or the fruits of that climate, or by approaching nearer the sun, which is the fountain of life and heat, when their natural heat was so far decayed; or whether the piecing out of an old man's life were worth the pains, I cannot tell; perhaps the play is not worth the candle.

I do not remember, either in story or modern observation, any examples of long life common to any parts of Europe, which the temper of the climate has probably made the scene of luxury and excesses in diet. Greece and Rome were of old celebrated, or rather defamed, for those customs,

when they were not known in Asia nor Africa; and how guilty our colder climates are in this point, beyond the warmer of Spain and Italy, is but too well known. It is common among Spaniards of the best quality, not to have tasted pure wine at forty years old. It is an honour to their laws, that a man loses his testimony who can be proved once to have been drunk; and I never was more pleased with any reply, than that of a Spaniard, who having been asked whether he had a good dinner at a friend's house, said, *Si, sennor, a via sabrado;*—"Yes, sir, for there was something left." The great trade in Italy, and resort of strangers, especially of Germans, has made the use of wine something more frequent there, though not much among the persons of rank, who are observed to live longer at Rome and Madrid, than in any other towns of Europe, where the qualities of the air force them upon the greatest temperance, as well as care and precaution. We read of many kings very long-lived in Spain; one, I remember, that reigned above seventy years: but Philip de Comines observes, that none in France had lived to threescore, from Charlemaine's time to that of Louis XI. whereas, in England, from the conquest to the end of queen Elizabeth, (which is a much shorter period of time) there have reigned five kings and one queen, whereof two lived sixty-five years, two sixty-eight, and two reached at least the seventieth year of their age. I wondered, upon this subject, when Monsieur Pompone, French ambassador in my time at the Hague, a person of great worth and learning, as well as observation, told me there, that in his life he had never heard of any man in France that arrived at a hundred.

years; and I could imagine no reason for it, unless it be that the excellence of their climate, subject neither to much cold nor heat, gave them such a liveliness of temper and humour, as disposed them to more pleasures of all kinds than in any other countries: and, I doubt, pleasures too long continued, or rather, too frequently repeated, may spend the spirits, and thereby life too fast, to leave it very long; like blowing a fire too often, which makes it indeed burn the better, but last the less. For as pleasures perish themselves in the using, like flowers that fade with gathering; so it is neither natural nor safe to continue them long, to renew them without appetite, or ever to provoke them by arts or imagination, where Nature does not call; who can best tell us when and how much we need, or what is good for us, if we were so wise as to consult her: but a short life and a merry carries it, and is, without doubt, better than a long with sorrow and pain.

For the honour of our climate, it has been observed by ancient authors, that the Britons were longer lived than any other nation to them known: and in modern times, there have been more and greater examples of this kind than in any other countries of Europe. The story of old Parr is too late to be forgotten by many now alive, who was brought out of Derbyshire to the court in king Charles I's time, and lived to a hundred and fifty-three years old; and might have, as was thought, gone farther, if the change of country air and diet for that of the town, had not carried him off, perhaps untimely, at that very age. The late Robert, earl of Leicester, who was a person of great learn-

ing and observation, as well as of truth, told me several stories very extraordinary upon this subject; one, of a countess of Desmond, married out of England in Edward IV's time, and who lived far in king James's reign, and was counted to have died some years above a hundred and forty; at which age, she came from Bristol to London, to beg some relief at court, having long been very poor by the ruin of that Irish family into which she was married.

Another, he told me, was of a beggar at a bookseller's shop, where he was some weeks after the death of prince Henry; and, observing those that passed by, he was saying to his company, that never such a mourning had been seen in England—this beggar said, "No, never since the death of prince Arthur." My lord Leicester, surprised, asked what she meant, and whether she remembered it: she said, "Very well;" and upon his more curious inquiry, told him that her name was Rainsford, of a good family in Oxfordshire: that, when she was about twenty years old, upon the falseness of a lover, she fell distracted; how long she had been so, nor what passed in that time, she knew not; that when she was thought well enough to go abroad, she was fain to beg for her living; that she was some time at this trade before she recovered any memory of what she had been, or where bred; that when this memory returned, she went down into her country, but hardly found the memory of any of her friends she had left there; and so returned to a parish in Southwark, where she had some small allowance among other poor, and had been for many years; and, once a week, walked into the city, and took what alms were given

her. My lord Leicester told me, he sent to inquire at the parish, and found their account agree with the woman's; upon which, he ordered her to call at his house once a week, which she did for some time; after which he heard no more of her. This story raised some discourse upon a remark of some in the company, that mad people are apt to live long. They alleged examples of their own knowledge: but the result was, that, if it were true, it must proceed from the natural vigour of their tempers, which disposed them to passions so violent, as ended in frenzies; and from the great abstinence and hardships of diet they are forced upon by the methods of their cure, and severity of those who had them in care; no other drink but water being allowed them, and very little meat.

The last story I shall mention from that noble person, upon this subject, was of a morrice-dancer, in Herefordshire, whereof, he said, he had a pamphlet still in his library, written by a very ingenious gentleman of that county, and which gave an account, how such a year of king James's reign, there went about the country a set of morrice-dancers, composed of ten men who danced, a maid Marian, and a tabor and pipe; and how these twelve, one with another, made up twelve hundred years. It is not so much, that so many in one small county should live to that age, as that they should be in vigour and in humour to travel and to dance.

I have, in my life, met with two of above a hundred and twelve—whereof the woman had passed her life in service, and the man in common labour, till he grew old, and fell upon the parish. But I met with one who had gone a much greater length,

which made me more curious in my inquiries: it was an old man, who begged usually at a lonely inn upon the road in Staffordshire, who told me he was a hundred and twenty-four years old; that he had been a soldier in the Cales voyage, under the earl of Essex, of which he gave me a sensible account; that, after his return, he fell to labour in his own parish, which was about a mile from the place where I met him; that he continued to work till a hundred and twelve, when he broke one of his ribs by a fall from a cart; and being thereby disabled, he fell to beg. This agreeing with what the master of of the house told me, was reported and believed by all his neighbours. I asked him what his usual food was, he said, milk, bread and cheese, and flesh when it was given him: I asked him what he used to drink, he said, O, sir, we have the best water in our parish, that is in all the neighbourhood: whether he never drank any thing else? he said, Yes, if any body gave it him; but not otherwise: and the host told me, he had got many a pound in his house, but never spent one penny. I asked if he had any neighbours as old as he; and he told me, but one, who had been his fellow-soldier at Cales, and was three years older; but he had been most of his time in a good service, and had something to live on now he was old.

I have heard, and very credibly, of many in my life, above a hundred years old, brought as witnesses upon trials of titles, and bounds of land; but I have observed most of them have been of Derbyshire, Staffordshire, or Yorkshire, and none above the rank of common farmers. The oldest I ever knew any persons of quality, or indeed any

gentleman, either at home or abroad, was fourscore and twelve: this, added to all the former recites, or observations, either of long-lived races, or persons in any age or country, makes it easy to conclude, that health and long life are usually blessings of the poor, not of the rich, and the fruits of temperance rather than of luxury and excess: and, indeed, if a rich man does not in many things live like a poor, he will certainly be the worse for his riches: if he does not use exercise, which is but voluntary labour; if he does not restrain appetite by choice, as the other does by necessity: if he does not practise sometimes even abstinence and fasting, which is the last extreme of want and poverty: if his cares and his troubles increase with his riches, or his passions with his pleasures, he will certainly impair in health, whilst he improves his fortunes, and lose more than he gains by the bargain; since health is the best of all human possessions, and without which the rest are not relished or kindly enjoyed.

It is observable in story, that the ancient philosophers lived generally very long; which may be attributed to their great temperance, and their freedom from common passions as well as cares of the world: but the friars, in many orders, seem to equal them in all these, and yet are not observed to live long; so as some other reason may be assigned: I can give none, unless it be the great and constant confinement of the last, and liberty of the others: I mean not only that of their persons to their cloisters, (which is not universal among them) but their condition of life, so tied to rules, and so absolutely subject to their superiors' commands; besides the

very confinement of their minds and thoughts to a certain compass of notions, speculations, and opinions. The philosophers took the greatest liberty that could be; and allowed their thoughts, their studies, and inventions, the most unconfined range over the whole universe: they both began and continued their profession and condition of life at their own choice, as well as their abodes: whereas, among the friars, though they may be voluntary at first, yet, after their vows made, they grow necessary, and thereby constrained. Now it is certain, that as nothing damps or depresses the spirits like great subjection or slavery, either of body or mind, so nothing nourishes, revives, and fortifies them like great liberty: which may possibly enter, among other reasons, of what has been observed about long life being found more in England than in others of our neighbour countries.

Upon the general and particular surveys already made, it may seem that the mountainous or barren countries are usually the scenes of health and long life; that they have been found rather in the hills of Palestine and Arcadia, than in the plains of Babylon or of Thessaly; and among us in England, rather upon the peak of Derbyshire, and the heaths of Staffordshire, than the fertile soils of other counties, that abound more in people and in riches. Whether this proceeds from the air being clearer of gross and damp exhalations, or from the meaner condition, and thereby harder fare, and more simple diet, or from the stronger nourishment of those grains and roots which grow in dry soils—I will not determine; but think it is evident, from common experience, that the natives and inhabitants of

hilly and barren countries have not only more health in general, but also more vigour, than those of the plains or fertile soils, and usually exceed them even in size and stature: so the largest bodies of men that are found in these parts of Europe, are the Switzers, the Highlanders of Scotland, and the northern Irish. I remember king Charles the Second (a prince of much and various knowledge, and curious observation) upon this subject, falling in discourse, asked me, what could be the reason, that in mountainous countries, the men were commonly larger, and yet the cattle of all sorts smaller, than in others. I could think of none, unless it were, that appetite being more in both, from the air of such places, it happened that, by the care of parents in the education of children, these seldom wanted food of some sort or other, enough to supply nature and satisfy appetite, during the age of their growth, which must be the greater by the sharpness of hunger and strength of digestion in drier airs; for milk, roots, and oats abound in such countries, though there may be scarcity of other food or grain: but the cattle, from the shortness of pasture and of fodder, have hardly enough to feed in summer; and very often want, in winter, even necessary food for sustenance of life; many are starved, and the rest stunted in their growth, which, after a certain age, never advances. Whether this be a good reason, or a better may be found, I believe one part of it will not be contested by any man that tries; which is, that the open dry air of hilly countries gives more stomach than that of plains and valleys, in which cities are commonly built, for the convenience of water, of trade, and

the plenty of fruits and grains produced by the earth, with much greater increase, and less labour, in softer, than in harder grounds. The faintness of appetite in such places, especially in great cities, makes the many endeavours to relieve and provoke it by art, where nature fails; and this is one great ground of luxury, and so many, and various, and extravagant inventions to heighten and improve it; which may serve, perhaps, for some refinement in pleasure, but not at all for any advantages of health or of life: on the contrary, all the great cities, celebrated most by the concourse of mankind, and by the inventions and customs of the greatest and most delicate luxury, are the scenes of the most frequent and violent plagues, as well as other diseases. Such are, in our age, Grand Cairo, Constantinople, Naples, and Rome; though the exact and constant care, in this last, helps them commonly to escape better than the others.

This introduces the use, and indeed the necessity of physic, in great towns, and very populous countries, which remoter and more barren, or desolate places, are scarce acquainted with: for in the course of common life, a man must either often exercise, or fast, or take physic, or be sick; and the choice seems left to every one as he likes. The two first are the best methods and means of preserving health; the use of physic is for restoring it, and curing those diseases which are generally caused by the want or neglect of the others; but is neither necessary, nor, perhaps, useful, for confirming health, or to the length of life, being generally a force upon nature; though the end of it seems to

be rather assisting nature, than opposing it in its course.

How ancient, how general, the study or profession of this science has been in the world, and how various the practice, may be worth a little inquiry and observation, since it so nearly concerns our healths and lives. Greece must be allowed to have been the mother of this, as much or more than of other sciences, most whereof are transplanted thither from more ancient and more Eastern nations. But this seems to have first risen there, and with good reason; for Greece having been the first scene of luxury we meet with in story, and having thereby occasioned more diseases, seemed to owe the world that justice of providing the remedies. Among the more simple and original customs and lives of other nations, it entered late, and was introduced by the Grecians. In ancient Babylon, how great and populous soever, no physicians were known, nor other methods for the cure of diseases, besides abstinence, patience, domestic care; or when these succeeded not, exposing the patient in the market, to receive the instruction of any persons that passed by, and pretended, by experience or inquiries, to have learned any remedies for such an illness. The Persian emperors sent into Greece for the physicians they needed, upon some extremity at first, but afterwards kept them residing with them. In old Rome they were long unknown; and, after having entered there, and continued for some time, they were all banished, and returned not in many years, till their fondness of all the Grecian arts and customs restored this, and introduced all the rest,

among them; where they continued in use and esteem during the greatness of that empire. With the rise and progress of the fierce northern powers and arms, this, as well as all other learning, was in a manner extinguished in Europe. but when the Saracen empire grew to such a height in the more eastern and southern parts of the world, all arts and sciences, following the traces of greatness and security in states or governments, began to flourish there, and this among the rest. The Arabians seem to have first retrieved and restored it in the Mahometan dominions; and the Jews in Europe, who were long the chief professors of it in the Gothic kingdoms; having been always a nation very mercurial, of great genius and application to all sorts of learning, after their dispersion; till they were discouraged by the persecutions of their religion, and their persons, among most of the Christian states. In the vast territories of India, there are few physicians, or little esteemed, besides some European, or else of the race either of Jews or Arabs.

Through these hands and places, this science has passed with the greatest honour and applause: among others, it has been less used or esteemed.

For the antiquity of it, and original in Greece, we must have recourse to Æsculapius, who lived in the age before the Trojan war, and whose son Machaon is mentioned to have assisted there; but whether as a physician or a surgeon, I do not find. How simple the beginnings of this art were, may be observed, by the story or tradition of Æsculapius going about the country with a dog and a she-goat always following, both which he used much

in his cures; the first for licking all ulcerated wounds, and the goat's milk for diseases of the stomach and the lungs. We find little more recorded of either his methods or medicines; though he was so successful by his skill, or so admired for the novelty of his profession, as to have been honoured with statues, esteemed son of Apollo, and worshipped as a god.

Whoever was accounted the god of physic, the prince of this science must be by all, I think, allowed to have been Hippocrates. He flourished in the time of the first renowned philosophers of Greece, (the chief of whom was Democritus) and his writings are the most ancient of any that remain to posterity; for those of Democritus, and others of that age, are all lost, though many were preserved till the time of Antoninus Pius, and perhaps something later; and, it is probable, were suppressed by the pious zeal of some fathers, under the first Christian emperor. Those of Hippocrates escaped this fate of his age, by being esteemed so useful to human life, as well as the most excellent upon all subjects he treats: for he was a great philosopher and naturalist, before he began the study of physic, to which both these are perhaps necessary. His rules and methods continued in practice as well as esteem, without any dispute, for many ages, till the time of Galen: and I have heard a great physician say, that his aphorisms are still the most certain and uncontrolled of any that science has produced. I will judge but of one, which, in my opinion, has the greatest race and height both of sense and judgment that I have read in so few words; and the best expressed: *Ars longa, vita*

brevis, experientia fallax, occasio præceps, judicium difficile. By which alone, if no more remained of that admirable person, we may easily judge how great a genius he was, and how perfectly he understood both nature and art.

In the time of Adrian, Galen began to change the practice and methods of physic, derived to that age from Hippocrates; and those of his new institution continue generally observed to our time. Yet Paracelsus, about two hundred years ago, endeavoured to overthrow the whole scheme of Galen, and introduce a new one of his own, as well as the use of chymical medicines; and has not wanted his followers and admirers ever since, who have, in some measure, compounded with the Galenists, and brought a mixed use of chymical medicines into the present practice.

Doctor Harvey gave the first credit, if not rise, to the opinion about the circulation of the blood, which was expected to bring in great and general innovations into the whole practice of physic, but has had no such effect. Whether the opinion has not had the luck to be so well believed as proved, sense and experience having not well agreed with reason and speculation; or whether the scheme has not been pursued so far as to draw it into practice; or whether it be too fine to be capable of it, like some propositions in the mathematics, how true and demonstrative soever—I will not pretend to determine.

These great changes or revolutions in the physical empire have given ground to many attacks that have been made against it, upon the score of its uncertainty, by several wise and learned men, as well

as by many ignorant and malicious. Montagne has written a great deal, and very ingeniously, upon this point; and some sharp Italians: and many physicians are too free upon the subject, in the conversation of their friends. But, as the noble Athenian inscription told Demetrius, that he was insomuch a god, as he acknowledged himself to be a man; so we may say of physicians, that they are the greater, insomuch as they know and confess the weakness of their art. It is certain, however, that the study of physic is not achieved, in any eminent degree, without very great advancements in other sciences: so that, whatever the profession is, the professors have been generally very much esteemed upon that account, as well as of their own art, as the most learned men of their ages, and thereby shared with the two other great professions in those advantages most commonly valued, and most eagerly pursued; whereof the divines seem to have had the most honour, the lawyers the most money, and the physicians the most learning. I have known, in my time, at least five or six, that besides their general learning, were the greatest wits in the compass of my conversation: and whatever can be said of the uncertainty of their art, or disagreement of its professors, they may, I believe, confidently undertake, that when divines arrive at certainty in their schemes of divinity, or lawyers in those of law, or politicians in those of civil government, the physicians will do it likewise in the methods and practice of physic; and have the honour of finding out the universal medicine, at least as soon as the chymists shall the philosopher's stone.

The great defects in this excellent science seem to me chiefly to have proceeded from the professors' application (especially since Galen's time) running so much upon method, and so little upon medicine; and in this to have addicted themselves so much to composition, and neglected too much the use of simples, as well as the inquiries and records of specific remedies.

Upon this occasion, I have sometimes wondered why a registry has not been kept in the colleges of physicians, of all such as have been invented by any professors of every age, found out by study or by chance, learned by inquiry, and approved by their practice and experience: this would supply the want of skill and study; arts would be improved by the experience of many ages, and derived by the succession of ancestors. As many professions are tied to certain races in several nations, so this of physic has been in some, by which parents were induced to the cares of improving and augmenting their knowledge, as others do their estates; because they were to descend to their posterity, and not die with themselves, as learning does in vulgar hands. How many methods as well as remedies are lost for want of this custom, in the course of ages! and which, perhaps, were of greater effect, and of more common benefit, than those that, succeeding in their places, have worn out the memory of the former, either by chance, or negligence, or different humours of persons and times.

Among the Romans there were four things much in use, whereof some are so far out of practice in ours, and other late ages, as to be hardly known any more than by their names; these were bathing,

fumigation, friction, and jactation. The first, though not wholly disused among us, yet is turned out of the service of health to that of pleasure; but may be of excellent effect in both: it not only opens the pores, provokes sweat, and thereby allays heat; supples the joints and sinews; unwearies and refreshes more than any thing, after too great labour and exercise; but is of great effect in some acute pains, as of the stone and cholic; and disposes to sleep, when many other remedies fail.—Nor is it improbable, that all good effects of any natural baths may be imitated by the artificial, if composed with care and skill of able naturalists or physicians.

Fumigation, or the use of scents, is not, that I know, at all practised in our modern physic, nor the power and virtue of them considered among us; yet they may have as much to do good, for aught I know, as to do harm, and contribute to health as well as to diseases; which is too much felt by experience in all that are infectious, and by the operations of some poisons that are received only by the smell. How reviving as well as pleasing some scents of herbs or flowers are, is obvious to all: how great virtues they may have in diseases, especially of the head, is known to few, but may be easily conjectured by any thinking man. What is recorded of Democritus, is worth remarking upon this subject; that being spent with age, and just at the point of death; and his sister bewailing that he should not live till the feast of Ceres, which was to be kept three or four days after—he called for loaves of new bread to be brought him, and with the steam of them under his nose prolonged his

life till the feast was past, and then died. Whether a man may live some time, or how long, by the steam of meat, I cannot tell; but the justice was great, if not the truth, in that story of a cook, who observing a man to use it often in his shop; and asking money, because he confessed to save his dinner by it, was adjudged to be paid by the chinking of his coin. I remember, that walking in a long gallery of the Indian house at Amsterdam, where vast quantities of mace, cloves, and nutmegs, were kept in great open chests ranged all along one side of the room, I found something so reviving by the perfumed air, that I took notice of it to the company with me, which was a great deal, and they all were sensible of the same effect: which is enough to show the power of smells, and their operations both upon health and humour.

Friction is of great and excellent use, and of very general practice in the Eastern countries, especially after their frequent bathings: it opens the pores, and is the best way of all forced perspiration; is very proper and effectual in all swellings and pains of the joints, or others in the flesh, which are not to be drawn to a head, and break. It is a saying among the Indians, that none can be much troubled with the gout who have slaves enough to rub them; and is the best natural account of some stories I have heard of persons who were said to cure several diseases by stroking.

Jactations were used for some amusement and allay in great and constant pains, and to relieve that intranquillity which attends most diseases, and makes men often impatient of lying still in their beds. Besides, they help or occasion sleep, as we

find by the common use and experience of rocking froward children in cradles, or dandling them in their nurses' arms. I remember an old Prince Maurice of Nassau, who had been accustomed to hammocks in Brazil, and used them frequently all his life after, upon the pains he suffered by the stone or gout; and thought he found ease, and was allured to sleep, by the constant motion or swinging of those airy beds, which was assisted by a servant, if they moved too little by the springs upon which they hung.

In Egypt of old, and at this time in Barbary, the general method of cures in most diseases, is by burning with a hot iron; so as the bodies of their slaves are found often to have many scars upon them remaining of those operations: but this, and other uses and effects of fire, I have taken notice enough of, in an Essay upon the Indian Cure by Moxa in the Gout.

The ancient native Irish, and the Americans, at the time of the first European discoveries and conquests there, knew nothing of physic beyond the virtues of herbs and plants: and in this, the most polished nation agrees, in a great measure, with those that were esteemed most barbarous; and where the learning and voluptuousness are as great as were the native simplicity and ignorance of the others. For in China, though their physicians are admirable in the knowledge of the pulse, and by that, in discovering the causes of all inward diseases; yet their practice extends little farther in the cures beyond the methods of diet, and the virtues of herbs and plants either inwardly taken or outwardly applied.

In the course of my life, I have often pleased or entertained myself with observing the various and fantastical changes of the diseases generally complained of, and of the remedies in common vogue, which were like birds of passage, very much seen or heard of at one season, and disappeared at another, and commonly succeeded by some of a very different kind. When I was very young, nothing was so much feared or talked of as rickets among children, and consumptions among young people of both sexes: after these, the spleen came in play, and grew a formal disease: then the scurvy, which was the general complaint; and both were thought to appear in many various guises: after these, and for a time, nothing was so much talked of as the ferment of the blood, which passed for the cause of all sorts of ailments, that neither physicians nor patients knew well what to make of.—And to all these succeeded vapours, which serve the same turn, and furnish occasion of complaint among persons whose bodies or minds ail something, but they know not what; and among the Chineses, would pass for mists of the mind, or fumes of the brain, rather than indispositions of any other parts. Yet these employ our physicians perhaps more than other diseases, who are fain to humour such patients in their fancies of being ill, and to prescribe some remedies, for fear of losing their practice to others that pretend more skill in finding out the cause of diseases, or care in advising remedies, which neither they nor their patients find any effect of, besides some gains to one and amusement to the other. This, I suppose, may have contributed much to the mode of going to

the waters either cold or hot, upon so many occasions, or else upon none besides that of entertainment, and which commonly may have no other effect: and it is well if this be the worst of the frequent use of those waters; which, though commonly innocent, yet are sometimes dangerous, if the temper of the person, or cause of the indisposition, be unhappily mistaken, especially in people of age.

As diseases have changed vogue, so have remedies, in my time and observation. I remember at one time the taking of tobacco, at another the drinking of warm beer, proved for universal remedies; then swallowing of pebble-stones, in imitation of falconers curing hawks: one doctor pretended to help all heats and fevers, by drinking as much cold spring water as the patient could bear; at another time, swallowing up a spoonful of powder of sea-biscuit after meals, was infallible for all indigestion, and so preventing diseases; then coffee and tea began their successive reigns. The infusion of powder of steel have had their turns; and certain drops, of several names and compositions: but none, that I find, have established their authority, either long or generally, by any constant and sensible successes of their reign; but have rather passed like a mode, which every one is apt to follow, and finds the most convenient or graceful while it lasts; and begins to dislike, in both those respects, when it goes out of fashion.

Thus men are apt to play with their healths and their lives, as they do with their clothes; which may be the better excused, since both are so transitory, so subject to be spoiled with common use, to be torn by accidents, and at best to be so soon

worn out: yet the usual practice of physic among us runs still the same course, and turns, in a manner, wholly upon evacuation, either by bleeding, vomits, or some sorts of purgation; though it be not often agreed among physicians in what cases or what degrees any of these are necessary; nor among other men, whether any of them are necessary or no. Montagne questions whether purging ever be so, and from many ingenious reasons; the Chineses never let blood; and, for the other, it is very probable that nature knows her own wants and times so well, and so easily finds her own relief that way, as to need little assistance, and not well to receive the common violences that are offered her. I remember three, in my life and observation, who were as downright killed with vomits, as they could have been with daggers; and I can say for myself, upon an accident very near mortal, when I was young, that, sending for the two best physicians of the town, the first prescribed me a vomit, and immediately sent it me: I had the grace or sense to refuse it till the other came, who told me, if I had taken it, I could not have lived half an hour. I observed a consult of physicians, in a fever of one of my near friends, perplexed to the last degree whether to let him blood or no, and not able to resolve, till the course of the disease had declared itself, and thereby determined them. Another of my friends was so often let blood by his first physician, that a second, who was sent for, questioned whether he would recover it: the first persisted the blood must be drawn till some good appeared; the other affirmed, that in such diseases, the whole mass was corrupted, but would purify again when the accident was passed,

like wine after a fermentation, which makes all in the vessel thick and foul for a season, but, when that is past, grows clear again of itself. So much is certain; that it depends a great deal upon the temper of the patient, the nature of the disease in its first causes, upon the skill and care of the physician, to decide whether any of these violences upon nature are necessary or no, and whether they are like to do good or harm.

The rest of our common practice consists in various compositions of innocent ingredients, which feed the hopes of the patient, and the apothecary's gains, but leave nature to her course, who is the sovereign physician in most diseases, and leaves little for others to do, farther than to watch accidents; where they know no specific remedies, to prescribe diets; and, above all, to prevent disorders from the stomach, and take care that nature be not employed in the kitchen, when she should be in the field to resist her enemy; and that she should not be weakened in her spirits and strength, when they are most necessary to support and relieve her. It is true, physicians must be in danger of losing their credit with the vulgar, if they should often tell a patient he has no need of physic, and prescribe only rules of diet or common use; most people would think they had lost their fee: but the excellence of a physician's skill and care is discovered by resolving first whether it be best in the case to administer any physic or none, to trust to nature or to art; and the next, to give such prescriptions, as if they do no good, may be sure to do no harm.

In the midst of such uncertainties of health and

of physic, for my own part, I have, in the general course of my life, and of many acute diseases, as well as some habitual, trusted to God Almighty, to nature, to temperance, or abstinence, and the use of common remedies, either vulgarly known, and approved like proverbs, by long observation and experience, either of my own, or such persons as have fallen in the way of my observation or inquiry.

Among the plants of our soil and climate, those I esteem of greatest virtue, and most friendly to health, are sage, rue, saffron, alehoof, garlic, and elder. Sage deserves not only the just reputation it has been always in, of a very wholesome herb, in common uses, and generally known; but is admirable in consumptive coughs, of which I have cured some very desperate, by a draught every morning of spring water, with a handful of sage boiled in it, and continued for a month. I do not question, that if it were used as tea, it would have at least, in all kinds, as good an effect upon health, if not of so much entertainment to the taste, being perhaps not so agreeable; and I had reason to believe, when I was in Holland, that vast quantities of sage were carried to the Indies yearly, as well as of tea brought over from those countries into ours.

Rue is of excellent use for all illnesses of the stomach, that proceed from cold or moist humours; a great digester and restorer of appetite; dispels wind, helps perspiration, drives out ill humours, and thereby comes to be so much prescribed, and so commonly used in pestilential airs, and upon apprehensions of any contagion. The only ill of it lies in the too much or too frequent use, which may lessen and impair the natural heat of the sto-

much, by the greater heat of a herb very hot and dry; and therefore the juice, made up with sugar, into small pills, and swallowed only two or three at nights or mornings, and only when there is occasion, is the most innocent way of using it.

Saffron is, of all others, the safest and most simple cordial, the greatest reviver of the heart and cheerer of the spirits, and cannot be of too common use in diet, any more than in medicine. The spirit of saffron is, of all others, the noblest and most innocent, and yet of the greatest virtue. I have known it restore a man out of the very agonies of death, when left by all physicians as wholly desperate. But the use of this and all spirits ought to be employed only in cases very urgent, either of decays or pains; for all spirits have the same effect with that mentioned of rue; which is, by frequent use, to destroy, and at last, to extinguish, the natural heat of the stomach; as the frequent drinking wine at meals does in a degree, and with time, but that of all strong waters more sensibly and more dangerously. Yet a long custom of either cannot be suddenly broken without danger too, and must be changed with time, with lessening the proportions by degrees, with shorter first, and then with longer intermissions.

Alehoof, or groundivy, is, in my opinion, of the most excellent and most general use and virtue of plants we have among us: it is allowed to be most sovereign for the eyes, admirable in frenzies, either taken inwardly, or outwardly applied. Besides, if there be a specific remedy or prevention of the stone, I take it to be the constant use of alehoof-ale, whereof I have known several experiences by others,

and can, I thank God, allege my own for about ten years past. This is the plant with which all our ancestors made their common drink, when the inhabitants of this island were esteemed the longest livers of any in the known world; and the stone is said to have first come amongst us after hops were introduced here, and the staleness of beer brought into custom by preserving it long. It is known enough, how much this plant has been decried, how generally soever it has been received in these maritime northern parts; and the chief reason, which I believe gave it vogue at first, was the preserving beer upon long sea-voyages: but for common health, I am apt to think the use of heath or broom had been of much more advantage, though none yet invented of so great and general as that of alehoof, which is certainly the greatest cleanser of any plant known among us; and which in old English signified that which was necessary to the making of ale, the common or rather universal drink heretofore of our nation.

Garlic has, of all our plants, the greatest strength, affords most nourishment, and supplies most spirits to those who eat little flesh, as the poorer people seldom do in the hotter, and especially the more Eastern climates: so that the labour of the world seems to be performed by the force and virtue of garlic, leeks, and onions; no other food of herbs or plants yielding strength enough for much labour. Garlic is of great virtue in all cholics, a great strengthener of the stomach upon decays of appetite or indigestion, and I believe is, (if at least there be any such) a specific remedy of the gout. I have known great testimonies of this kind within my

acquaintance, and have never used it myself upon this occasion, without an opinion of some success or advantage: but I could never long enough bear the constraint of a diet I found not very agreeable myself, and at least faucied offensive to the company I conversed with.

Besides, this disease is to me so hereditary, and comes into my veins from so many ancestors, that I have reason to despair of any cure but the last, and content myself to fence against it by temperance and patience, without hopes of conquering such an inveterate enemy: therefore I leave the use of garlic to such as are inveigled into the gout by the pleasure of too much drinking, the ill effects whereof are not more relieved by any other diet than by this plant, which is so great a drier and opener, especially by perspiration. Nor is it less used in many parts abroad as physic than as food. In several provinces of France it is usual to fall into a diet of garlic for a fortnight or three weeks, upon the first fresh butter of the spring; and the common people esteem it a preservative against the diseases of the ensuing year; and a broth of garlic or onions is so generally used the next day after a debauch, as to be called *soupe à l'ivresse*. This is enough to show the use as well as virtues of this northern spice, which is in mighty request among the Indians themselves, in the midst of so many others, that enrich and perfume those noble regions.

Elder is of great virtue in all indispositions arising from any watery humours; and not only the flowers and berries, but even the green bark, are used with effect, and perhaps equal success in

their seasons. I have been told of some great cures of the gout, by the succeeding use of all three throughout the year: but I have been always too libertine for any great and long subjections, to make the trials. The spirit of elder is sovereign in cholics; and the use of it, in general, very beneficial in scurvies and dropsies: though, in the last, I esteem broom yet of more virtue, either brewed in common drink, or the ashes taken in white wine every morning; which may perhaps pass for a specific remedy; whereof we may justly complain, that, after so long experience of so learned a profession as physic, we yet know so very few.

That which has passed, of latter years, for the most allowed in this kind, has been the quinquina, or Jesuits powder, in fevers, but especially agues. I can say nothing of it upon any experience of my own, nor many within my knowledge: I remember its entrance upon our stage with some disadvantage, and the repute of leaving no cures, without danger of worse returns: but the credit of it seems now to be established by common use and prescription, and to be improved by new and singular preparations; whereof I have very good and particular reasons to affirm, that they are all amusements; and, that what virtue there is in this remedy, lies in the naked simple itself, as it comes over from the Indies, and in the choice of that which is least dried, or perished by the voyage.

The next specific I esteem to be that little insect called millepedes; the powder whereof, made up into little balls with fresh butter, I never knew fail of curing any sore throat: it must lie at the root of the tongue, and melt down at leisure upon

going to bed. I have been assured that Doctor Mayerne used it as a certain cure for all cancers in the breast; and should be very tedious if I should tell here, how much the use of it has been extolled by several within my knowledge, upon the admirable effects for the eyes, the scurvy, and the gout; but there needs no more to value it, than what the ancient physicians affirm of it in those three words:

Digerit,	*Aperit,*	*Abstergit.*
It digests,	It opens,	It cleanses.

For rheums in the eyes and the head, I take a leaf of tobacco, put into the nostrils for an hour each morning, to be a specific medicine; or betony, if the other be too strong or offensive. The effect of both is to draw rheums off the head, through their proper and natural channel; and old Prince Maurice of Nassau told me, he had by this preserved his eyes to so great an age, after the danger of losing them at thirty years old; and I have ever since used it with the same success, after great reasons, near that age, to apprehend the loss or decays of mine.

In times and places of great contagion, the strongest preservative yet known, is a piece of myrrh held in the mouth, when or where the danger is most apprehended; which I have both practised and taught many others with success, in several places where cruel plagues have raged: though in such cases, after all, the best and safest is to run away as soon as one can. Yet, upon this occasion, I think myrrh may pass for a specific in

prevention; and may, for aught I know, be of use in remedies, as the greatest enemy of corruption; which is known by the use of embalmings in the East.

For all illnesses of stomach, or indigestions, proceeding from hot and sharp humours, to which my whole family has been much subject, as well as very many of my acquaintance; and for which, powder of crabs'-eyes and claws, and burnt egg-shells, are often prescribed as sweeteners of any sharp humours—I have never found any thing of much or certain effect, besides the eating of strawberries, common cherries, white figs, soft peaches, or grapes, before every meal, during their seasons; and when those are past, apples after meals; but all must be very ripe. And this, by my own and all my friends' experience who have tried it, I reckon for a specific medicine in this illness, so frequently complained of: at least, for the two first I never knew them fail; and the usual quantity is about forty cherries, without swallowing either skin or stone. I observe this the rather, because the recourse commonly made in this case to strong waters I esteem very pernicious, and which inevitably destroys the stomach with frequent use. The best, at least most innocent, of all distilled liquors, is milk-water, made with balm, carduus, mint, and wormwood; which has many good effects in illnesses of the stomach, and none ill. The best and safest strong water, if any be so, for common use, I esteem to be that made of juniper berries, especially in accidents of stone and cholic.

Of all cordials, I esteem my lady Kent's powder be best, the most innocent, and the most uni-

versal; though the common practice of physic abounds in nothing more, and the virtue seems to be little else, besides an allusion of the name to the heart.

Upon the gout, I have writ what I had known or practised, in an essay of Moxa; and upon the spleen, what I had observed, in a chapter upon the dispositions of the people in the Netherlands. I shall only add, for the help of my fellow-sufferers in the first, that, besides what is contained in that former essay, and since those pains have grown more diffused, and less fixed in one point, so as to be burned with moxa, which never failed of giving me present ease, I have found the most benefit from three methods: the first is, that of moving the joint where the pain begins, as long as I am able, in my bed; which I have often done, and counted five or six hundred times, or more; till I found, first a great heat, and then perspiration, in the part; the heat spends or disperses the humour within, and the perspiration drives it out; and I have escaped many threats of ill fits by these motions: if they go on, the only poultice or plaster I have dealt with, is wool from the belly of a fat sheep, which has often given me ease in a very little time. If the pains grow sharp, and the swellings so diffused, as not to be burned with moxa, the best remedy I have found, is from a piece of scarlet dipped in scalding brandy, laid upon the afflicted part, and the heat often renewed, by dropping it upon the scarlet as hot as can be endured: and from this I have often found the same success as from moxa, and without breaking the skin, or leaving any sore.

To what I have said in another place of the spleen,

I shall only add here, that whatever the spleen is, whether a disease of the part so called, or of people that ail something, but they know not what; it is certainly a very ill ingredient into any other disease, and very often dangerous: for, as hope is the sovereign balsam of life, and the best cordial in all distempers both of body or mind; so fear, and regret, and melancholy apprehensions, which are the usual effects of the spleen, with the distractions, disquiets, or at least intranquillity they occasion, are the worst accidents that can attend any diseases, and make them often mortal, which would otherwise pass, and have had but a common course. I have known the most busy ministers of state, most fortunate courtiers, most vigorous youths, most beautiful virgins, in the strength or flower of their age, sink under common distempers, by the force of such weights, and the cruel damps and disturbances thereby given their spirits and their blood. It is no matter what is made the occasion, if well improved by spleen and melancholy apprehensions: a disappointed hope, a blot of honour, a strain of conscience, an unfortunate love, an aching jealousy, a repining grief, will serve the turn, and all alike.

I remember an ingenious physician, who told me, in the fanatic times, he found most of his patients so disturbed by troubles of conscience, that he was forced to play the divine with them, before he could begin the physician; whose greatest skill, perhaps, often lies in the infusing of hopes, and inducing some composure and tranquillity of mind, before they enter upon the other operations of their art: and this ought to be the first endeavour of the

patient too; without which, all other medicines may lose their virtue.

The two great blessings of life are, in my opinion, health and good humour; and none contribute more to one another: without health, all will allow life to be but a burden; and the several conditions of fortune to be all wearisome, dull, or disagreeable, without good humour; nor does any seem to contribute towards the true happiness of life, but as it serves to increase that treasure, or to preserve it. Whatever other differences are commonly apprehended in the several conditions of fortune, none perhaps will be found so true or so great, as what is made by those two circumstances, so little regarded in the common course or pursuits of mortal men.

Whether long life be a blessing or no, God Almighty only can determine, who alone knows what length it is like to run, and how it is like to be attended. Socrates used to say, that it was pleasant to grow old with good health and a good friend; and he might have reason: a man may be content to live while he is no trouble to himself or his friends; but, after that, it is hard if he be not content to die. I knew and esteemed a person abroad, who used to say, a man must be a mean wretch that desired to live after threescore years old. But so much, I doubt, is certain; that in life, as in wine, he that will drink it good, must not draw it to dregs.

Where this happens, one comfort of age may be, that whereas younger men are usually in pain when they are not in pleasure, old men find a sort of plea-

sure whenever they are out of pain: and, as young men often lose or impair their present enjoyments by raving after what is to come, by vain hopes, or fruitless fears; so old men relieve the wants of their age by pleasing reflections upon what is past. Therefore, men, in the health and vigour of their age, should endeavour to fill their lives with reading, with travel, with the best conversation, and the worthiest actions, either in their public or private stations; that they may have something agreeable left to feed on when they are old, by pleasing remembrances.

But as they are only the clean beasts which chew the cud, when they have fed enough; so they must be clean and virtuous men, that can reflect with pleasure upon the past accidents or courses of their lives: besides, men who grow old with good sense, or good fortunes, and good nature, cannot want the pleasure of pleasing others, by assisting with their gifts, their credit, and their advice, such as deserve it; as well as their care of children, kindness to friends, and bounty to servants.

But there cannot indeed live a more unhappy creature than an ill-natured old man, who is neither capable of receiving pleasures, nor sensible of doing them to others; and, in such a condition, it is time to leave them.

Thus have I traced, in this essay, whatever has fallen in my way or thoughts to observe concerning life and health, and which I conceived might be of any public use to be known or considered: the plainness wherewith it is written easily shows there could be no other intention; and it may at

least pass like a Derbyshire charm, which is use among sick cattle, with these words—"If it do thee no good, it will do thee no harm."

To sum up all, the first principle of health an long life is derived from the strength of our ra or our birth; which gave occasion to that sayin *Gaudeant bene nati*—"Let them rejoice that a happily born." Accidents are not in our power govern; so that the best cares or provisions for li and health that are left us, consist in the discre and temperate government of diet and exercise; both which all excess is to be avoided, especially the common use of wine; whereof the first gla may pass for health, the second for good humou the third for our friends, but the fourth is for o enemies.

For temperance in other kinds, or in general, have given its character and virtues in the essay Moxa, so as to need no more upon that subj here.

When, in default or despite of all these cares by effect of ill airs and seasons, acute or strong eases may arise, recourse must be had to the physicians that are in reach, whose success wil pend upon thought and care, as much as skill all diseases of body or mind, it is happy to ha able physician for a friend, or discreet friend physician; which is so great a blessing, th wise man will have it to proceed only fron where he says, "A faithful friend is the cine of life, and he that fears the Lord sh him."

III.

OF HEROIC VIRTUE.

AMONG all the endowments of nature, or improvements of art, wherein men have excelled and distinguished themselves most in the world, there are two only that have had the honour of being called divine, and of giving that esteem or appellation to such as possessed them in very eminent degrees, which are Heroic Virtue, and Poetry: for prophecy cannot be esteemed any excellency of nature or of art; but wherever it is true, is an immediate gift of God, and bestowed according to his pleasure, and upon subjects of the meanest capacity; upon women or children, or even things inanimate; as the stones placed in the high priest's breast-plate, which were a sacred oracle among the Jews.

I will leave poetry to an essay by itself, and dedicate this only to that antiquated shrine of heroic virtue, which, however forgotten or unknown in latter ages, must yet be allowed to have produced in the world the advantages most valued among men, and which most distinguish their understandings and their lives from the rest of their fellow-creatures.

Though it be easier to describe heroic virtue by the effects and examples, than by causes or definitions, yet it may be said to arise from some great and native excellency of temper or genius, transcending the common race of mankind in wisdom,

goodness, and fortitude. These ingredients, ad vantaged by birth, improved by education, and as sisted by fortune, seem to make that noble com position, which gives such a lustre to those wh have possessed it, as made them appear to commo eyes something more than mortals, and to hav been born of some mixture between divine an human race; to have been honoured and obeye in their lives, and after their deaths bewailed an adored.

The greatness of their wisdom appeared in th excellency of their inventions; and these, by th goodness of their nature, were turned and exer cised upon such subjects as were of general goo to mankind in the common uses of life, or t their own countries, in the institutions of sue laws, orders, or governments, as were of most eas safety, and advantage to civil society. Their v lour was employed in defending their own countr from the violence of ill men at home, or enem abroad; in reducing their barbarous neighbours the same forms and orders of civil lives and in tutions; or in relieving others from the cruel and oppressions of tyranny and violence.

These are all comprehended in three vers Virgil, describing the blessed seats in Elysium those that enjoyed them:

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluêre per artes,
Quique sui memores alios fecêre merendo.

Here, such as for their country wounds recei
Or who by arts invented life improved,
Or, by deserving, made themselves remembe

And, indeed, the character of heroic virtue seems to be, in short, the deserving well of mankind. Where this is chief in design, and great in success, the pretence to a hero lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

I have said, that this excellency of genius must be native, because it can never grow to any great height, if it be only acquired or affected; but it must be ennobled by birth, to give it more lustre, esteem, and authority; it must be cultivated by education and instruction, to improve its growth, and direct its end and application; and it must be assisted by fortune, to preserve it to maturity; because the noblest spirit or genius in the world, if it falls, though never so bravely, in its first enterprises, cannot deserve enough of mankind to pretend to so great a reward as the esteem of heroic virtue: and yet, perhaps, many a person has died in the first battle or adventure he achieved, and lies buried in silence and oblivion, who, had he outlived as many dangers as Alexander did, might have shined as bright in honour and fame. Now, since so many stars go to the making up of this constellation, it is no wonder it has so seldom appeared in the world; nor that, when it does, it is received and followed with so much gazing, and so much veneration.

Among the simpler ages or generations of men, in several countries, those who were the first inventors of arts generally received and applauded as most necessary or useful to human life, were honoured alive, and, after death, worshipped as gods: and so were those who had been the first authors of any good and well instituted civil government.

in any country, by which the native inhabitants were reduced from savage and brutish lives to the safety and convenience of societies, the enjoyment of property, the observance of orders, and the obedience of laws; which were followed by security, plenty, civility, riches, industry, and all kinds of arts. The evident advantages and common benefits of these sorts of institutions, made people generally inclined at home to obey such governors, the neighbour nations to esteem them, and thereby willingly enter into their protection, or easily yield to the force of their arms and prowess. Thus conquests began to be made in the world, and upon the same designs of reducing barbarous nations unto civil and well-regulated constitutions and governments, and of subduing those by force to obey them, who refused to accept willingly the advantages of life or condition that were thereby offered them. Such persons of old, who, excelling in those virtues, were attended by these fortunes, and made great and famous conquests, and left them under good constitutions of laws and governments; or who instituted excellent and lasting orders and frames any political state, in what compass soever of country, or under what name soever of civil government—were obeyed as princes or lawgivers in their own times, and were called, in after ages, by name of heroes.

From these sources, I believe, may be deduced all or most of the theology or idolatry of all ancient Pagan countries, within the compass of four great empires, so much renowned in story and perhaps of some others, as great in their constitutions, and as extended in their conq

though not so much celebrated or observed by learned men.

From all I can gather upon the surveys of ancient story, I am apt to conclude, that Saturn was a king of Crete, and expelled that kingdom by his son: that Jupiter, having driven out his father from Crete, conquered Greece, or at least the Peloponnesus; and having, among those inhabitants, introduced the use of agriculture, of property and civility, and established a just and regular kingdom, was, by them, adored as chief of their gods.

Ante Jovem nulli subigebant arva coloni.

That his brother, sisters, sons, and daughters, were worshipped likewise, for the inventions of things chiefly useful, necessary, or agreeable to human life: so Neptune, for the art or improvement of navigation; Vulcan, for that of forging brass and iron; Minerva, of spinning; Apollo, of music and poetry; Mercury, of manual arts and merchandise; Bacchus, for the invention of wine; and Ceres, of corn.

I do not find any traces left by which a probable conjecture may be made of the age wherein this race of Saturn flourished in the world; nor, consequently, what length of time they were adored; for as to Bacchus and Hercules, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of those names, in very different times, and perhaps countries, as Greece and Egypt; and that the last, who was son of Alcmena, and one of the Argonauts, was very modern in respect of the other more ancient, who was contemporary with the rest

of Jupiter: but the story of that Bacchus cules, who are said to have conquered grown too obscure, by the dark shades of antiquity, or disguised by the mask of fa fiction of poets.

The same divine honours were render Egyptians to Osiris; in whose temple was i on a pillar, that he had gone through all c and every where taught men all that he f cessary for the common good of mankin Assyrians to Belus, the founder of that l and great inventor or improver of astronon the Chaldeans; by the original Latins o cans, to Janus, who introduced agricul Italy; and these three were worshipped a those ancient and learned nations.

Ninus and Sesostris were renowned mighty conquest, and esteemed the two roes of Assyria and of Egypt; the first h tended his victories to the river Indus, other those of the Egyptians over Asia, Pontus. The time of Ninus is controvert historians; being by some placed thirteen, eight hundred years before Sardanapalus: of Sesostris is, in my opinion, much har affirmed: for I do not see how their opini allowed, who make him to be Sesack, Jerusalem in the time of Rehoboam, since is said in Scripture of the progress of tl dition; nor is the time of it mentioned in cian story, though some records are there all that passed after the Trojan war, and stinction enough: but the most ancien them speak of the reign of Sesostris, and h

conquests, as very ancient then; and agree, the kingdom of Colchis to have descended to a colony there established by this famous king, as a monument how far northward his victories had extended: now this kingdom flourished in the time of the Argonauts, and excelled in those arts of magic and enchantments, which they were thought to have brought with them out of Egypt; so as I think the story of this king must be reckoned as almost covered with the ruins of time.

The two next heroes that enter the scene, are the Theban Hercules and Theseus, both renowned among the Greeks, for freeing their country from fierce wild beasts, or from fiercer and wilder men that infested them; from robbers and spoilers, or from cruel and lawless tyrants. Theseus was besides honoured as founder of the more civil state or kingdom of Athens, which city first began to flourish and grow great by his institutions, though his father had been king of the scattered villages or inhabitants of Attica.

In the same age flourished Minos, king of Crete, reputed to be son of Jupiter; who, by the force and number of his fleets, became lord of the Ægean islands, and most of the coasts of Greece; and was renowned as a hero, for the justness of his laws, and the greatness of his reign.

For the heroes in the time of the Trojan wars, so much celebrated in those two charming poems, which from them were called heroical; though it is easy to take their characters from those admirable pictures drawn of them by Homer and Virgil, yet it is hard to find them in the relations of any authentic story. That which may be observed

is, that all the conduct and courage of He employed in the defence of his country father against a foreign invasion; the Achilles was exercised in the comm wherein his whole nation was engaged fatal revenge of the rape of Helen, thou been assured by certain prophecies, that die before the walls of Troy; and Æne employed his utmost prowess in defen country, saved his father and the Tro gathered up the remainders of his ruined sailed to Italy, and there founded a kingdo gave rise to the greatest empire of the wo

About two hundred and fifty years aft Lycurgus instituted the Spartan state, u and orders so different from those usual times and countries, that more than hum rity seemed necessary to establish them Pythian priestess told him, she did not k ther she should call him a god or a man deed no civil or politic constitutions have b celebrated than his, by the best authors o story and times.

The next heroes we meet with upo were Romulus and Numa; of which the fi ed the Roman city and state, and the othe the civil and religious orders of both a degree, that the original institutions two lawgivers continued as long as that state.

The next hero that came upon the s Cyrus, who freed his country from their to the Medes, erected the Persian empire ruins of the Assyrian, adorned it with

constitutions and laws, and extended it westward by the conquest of all the lesser Asia and Lydia, to the very coasts of the Ægean sea. Whether the picture of Cyrus, drawn by Xenophon, be after the life, or only imaginary, we may find in it the truest character that can be given of heroic virtue: and it is certain, his memory was always celebrated among the Persians, though not prosecuted by divine honours; because that nation adored one Supreme God, without any representation or idol; and, in the next place, the sun, to whom alone they offered sacrifices.

Alexander was the next renowned in story, having founded the Grecian monarchy, by the entire conquest of the Persian, and extended it by the addition of Greece and Macedon: but he attained not the esteem or appellation of a hero, though he affected and courted it by his mother's stories of his birth, and by the flatteries of the priest and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. His pretence was justly excluded by his intemperance in wine, in anger, and in lust; and more yet by his cruelties and his pride: for true honour has something in it so humorous, as to follow commonly those who avoid and neglect it, rather than those who seek and pursue it. Besides, he instituted no orders or frame of government in the kingdoms either of Macedon or Persia, but rather corrupted and disordered those he found; and seems to have owed the successes of his enterprises to the counsels and conduct of his father's old officers; after whose disgrace and fall immediately succeeded that of his fortune and his life. Yet he must be allowed to have much contributed to his own glory and fame

by a great native genius and unlimited bounty, an by the greatest boldness of enterprise, scorn of dar ger, and fearlessness of death, that could be in an mortal man: he was a prodigy of valour and c fortune; but whether his virtues or his faults wer greatest, is hard to be decided.

Cæsar, who is commonly esteemed to have bee founder of the Roman empire, seems to have pos sessed very eminently all the qualities, both nativ and acquired, that enter into the composition of hero; but failed of the attribute of honour; becaus he overthrew the laws of his own country and or ders of his state, and raised his greatness by th conquest of his fellow-citizens more than of thei enemies; and after he came to the empire, live not to perfect the frame of such a government, o achieve such conquests, as he seems to have had i design.

These four great monarchies, with the small kingdoms, principalities, and states, that were sw lowed up by their conquests and extent, make subject of what is called ancient story; and ar excellently related by the many Greek and L authors still extant, and in common vogue; so c mented, enlarged, reduced into order of time place, by many more of the modern writers- they are known to all men who profess to stu entertain themselves with reading. The and institutions of these several governments progress and duration, their successes or their events and revolutions, make the c themes of schools and colleges, the study of and the conversation of idle men, the ar of histories, poems, and romances. From

tions and fortunes of those princes and lawgivers, are drawn the common examples of virtue and honour, the reproaches of vice, which are illustrated by the felicities or misfortunes that attend them: from the events and revolutions of these governments are drawn the usual instructions of princes and statesmen, and the discourses and reflections of the greatest wits and writers upon the politics: from the orders and institutions, the laws and customs of these empires and states, the sages of law and of justice, in all countries, endeavour to deduce the very common laws of nature and of nations, as well as the particular civil or municipal of kingdoms and provinces: from these they draw their arguments and precedents in all disputes concerning the pretended excellences or defaults of the several sorts of governments that are extolled or decried, accused or defended; concerning the rights of war and peace, of invasion and defence between sovereign princes, as well as of authority and obedience, of prerogative and liberty, in civil contentions.

Yet the stage of all these empires, and revolutions of all these heroic actions, and these famous constitutions, (how great or how wise soever any of them are esteemed) is but a limited compass of earth, that leaves out many vast regions of the world, the which, though accounted barbarous, and little taken notice of in story, or by any celebrated authors, yet have a right to come in for their voice, in agreeing upon the laws of nature and nations (for aught I know) as well as the rest, that have arrogated it wholly to themselves; and, besides, in my opinion, there are some of them that, upon in-

quiry, will be found to have equalled or excee
all the others, in the wisdom of their constitutio
the extent of their conquests, and the duratior
their empires or states.

The famous scene of the four great monarch
was that midland part of the world, which
bounded on the east by the river Indus, and on
west by the Atlantic ocean; on the north by
river Oxus, the Caspian and the Euxine seas,
the Danube; on the south by the mountain At
Ethiopia, Arabia, and from thence to the mouth
Indus, by the southern ocean.

It is true, that Semiramis and Alexander are s
to have conquered India; but the first seems o
to have subdued some parts of it that lie upon
borders of that river; and Alexander's achieveme
there seem rather like a journey than a conque
and though he pierced through the country f
Indus to Ganges, yet he left even undiscovered
greatest parts of that mighty region, which, b
ancients, was reported to contain a hundred
eighteen great and populous nations, and w
for aught I know, were never conquered but
Tartars.

I reckon neither Scythia nor Arabia for p
that ancient scene of action and story; for,
Cyrus and Darius entered the first, yet th
left it, one with loss of his honour, and th
of his life: and for Arabia, I neither find
ever conquered, or indeed well discovered
veyed; nor much more known, than by
merce of their spices and perfumes: I n
part of it which is called Arabia Felix,
vironed on three sides by the sea; for th

skirts, that join to Syria, have entered into the conquests or commerce of the four great empires; but that which seems to have secured the other, is the stony and sandy deserts, through which no armies can pass for want of water.

Now, if we consider the map of the world, as it lies at present before us, since the discoveries made by the navigations of these three last centuries, we shall easily find what vast regions there are which have been left out of that ancient scene on all sides: and though, passing for barbarous, they have not been esteemed worth the pens of any good authors, and are known only by common and poor relations of traders, seamen, or travellers; yet, by all I have read, I am inclined to believe that some of these out-lying parts of the world, however unknown by the ancients, and overlooked by the modern learned, may yet have afforded as much matter of action and speculation as the other scene, so much celebrated in story: I mean, not only in their vast extent, and variety of soils and climates, with their natural productions; but even in the excellent constitutions of laws and customs, the wise and lasting foundations of states and empires, and the mighty flights of conquests that have risen from such orders and institutions.

Now, because the first scene is such a beaten road, and this so little known or traced, I am content to take a short survey of our four great schemes of government or empire, that have sprung and grown to mighty heights, lived very long, and flourished much in these remote (and, as we will have it, more ignoble) regions of the world: whereof one is at the farthest degree of our eastern

longitude, being the kingdom of China; the next is at the farthest western, which is that of Peru; the third is the outmost of our northern latitude, which is Scythia or Tartary; and the fourth is Arabia, which lies very far upon the southern.

For that vast continent of Africa, that extends between mount Atlas and the southern ocean, though it be found to swarm in people, to abound in gold, to contain many great kingdoms and infinite smaller principalities, to be pierced by those two famous rivers of the Nile and the Niger, to produce a race of men that seem hardly of the same species with the rest of mankind; yet I cannot find any traces of that heroic virtue, that may entitle them to any share in this essay: for whatever remains in story of Atlas, or his kingdom of old, is so obscured with age or fables, that it may go along with those of the Atlantic islands; though I know not whether these themselves were by Solon or Plato intended for fables or no, or for relations they had met with among the Egyptian priests, and which perhaps were by them otherwise esteemed.

SECTION II.

THE great and ancient kingdom of China is bounded to the east and south by the ocean; to the north by a stone wall of twelve hundred miles long, raised against the invasion of the Tartars; and to the west, by vast and impassable mountains or deserts, which the labour or curiosity of no mortal man has been ever yet known to have pierced through, or given any account of. When Alexander would

have passed the river Ganges, he was told by the Indians that nothing beyond it was inhabited, and that all was either impassable marshes; lying between great rivers, or sandy deserts; or steep mountains, full only of wild beasts, but wholly destitute of mankind; so as Ganges was esteemed by ancients the bound of the eastern world. Since the use of the compass, and extent of navigation, it is found that there are several populous kingdoms lie between Ganges and the deserts or mountains that divide them from China; as Pegu, Siam, Cirete, and others, lie in this space, coasting along the borders of great rivers northwards; which are said to run about the length of Indus and Ganges, and all of them to rise from one mighty lake in the mountains of Tartary: but from none of these kingdoms is known any other way of passage or commerce into China, than by sea.

From Hindostan, or the Mogul's country, there is none other usual; and such as travel from thence by land are forced to go many degrees northward before they turn to the east, to pass many savage kingdoms or countries of the Tartars, to travel through vast sandy deserts, and other prodigious high and steep mountains, where no carriage or beast is able to pass, but only men on foot; and over one mountain particularly, esteemed the highest in the world, where the air is so thin, that men cannot travel over it without danger of their lives; and never in summer, without being poisoned by the scent of certain herbs that grow upon it, which is mortal when they are in flower. After eight or nine months' journey from the Mogul's court, several persons have travelled this way till they came to

the wall that defends or divides China from T tary, and so to the imperial city of Pekin, situ in the northern parts of this mighty region, wh the Chineses call a world by itself, and esteem th selves the only reasonable and civilized peo having no neighbours on three sides, and to north only the Tartars, whom they esteem another sort of wild or brutish men; and, the fore, they say, in common proverb, that the Chin only see with two eyes, and all other men but w one.

By this situation, and by a custom or law v ancient among them, of suffering no stranger come into their country, or if they do, not perm ting him to go out, or return any more to his ow this vast continent continued very long and wh unknown to the rest of the world; and, forasm as I can find, was first discovered to us by Pa Venetus, who, about four hundred years ago, m a voyage from Venice, through Armenia, Persia, several parts of Tartary, to that which he n the kingdom of Cataya, and to the famous c Cambalu; (as he calls them) and, after seve years' residence of his father and himself in court of the great Cham, returned to Venic left the world a large account of this voyage.

Since his time, and within two or three h years, several missionary friars and Jesuit upon devotion or command of their su pierced, with infinite pains and dangers, these vast and savage regions, some from gul's country, some through Armenia an and arrived at Pekin; which, I make no (by comparing all their several accounts

tions) is the same famous city that is called Cambalu by Paulus Venetus, seated in the northern provinces of China, which is by him called Cataya. The reason of this difference in names was, that when Paulus Venetus was there, the Cham of East Tartary, called Cataya, had possessed himself, by conquest, of several northern provinces of China, as well as that of Pekin, where he made his residence, and which was, like the rest of his empire, called Cataya, and the chief city Cambalu, by a Tartar name. After some time, all these provinces were again recovered by the Chineses from the Tartars, and returned to their old Chinese appellations; and the king of China, who then expelled the Tartars, fixed the seat of his empire at Pekin, (which had been formerly at Nankin and Quinsay) that the force of his armies, lying thereabouts, might be ready to defend that frontier against the furious invasions of the Tartars, whereof they had several times felt the rage and danger.

After this recovery, China continued in peace, and prosperous under their own emperors, till about the year 1616, when the Tartars again invaded them; and, after a long and bloody war of above thirty years, in the end made themselves absolute masters of the whole kingdom, and so it has ever since continued.

This region, commonly known by the name of China, extends about eighteen hundred miles, or thirty degrees of northern and southern latitude. It is not esteemed so much of longitude; but this is more uncertain, the journey through the whole country, from east to west, having not, that I find, been ever performed by any European; and the

accounts taken only from report of the natives: nor is it easily agreed where the habitable parts of China determine westward, since some authors say they end in mountains, stored only with wild beasts and wild men, that have neither laws nor language, nor other commerce with the Chineses, than by descents sometimes made upon them, for rapines or for rapes: and other authors say, there are such inaccessible mountains, even in the midst of China, so as the first accounts may have left out great countries beyond these mountains, which they took for the utmost border of this kingdom.

Whatever length it has, which by none is esteemed less than twelve or thirteen hundred miles, it must be allowed to be the greatest, richest, and most populous kingdom now known in the world; and will perhaps be found to owe its riches, force, civility, and felicity, to the admirable constitution of its government, more than any other.

This empire consists of fifteen several kingdoms, which at least have been so of old, though now governed as provinces, by their several viceroys, who yet live in greatness, splendor, and riches, equal to the great and sovereign kings. In the whole kingdom, are one hundred and forty-five capital cities, of mighty extent and magnificent building, and one thousand three hundred and twenty-one lesser cities, but all walled round: the number of villages is infinite, and no country in the known world so full of inhabitants, nor so improved by agriculture, by infinite growth of numerous commodities, by canals of incredible length, conjunctions of rivers, convenience of ways for the transportation of all sorts of goods and commodities from one

province to another, so as no country has so great trade; though, till very lately, they never had any but among themselves; and what there is now foreign among them is not driven by the Chineses going out of their country to manage it, but only by the permission of the Portuguese and Dutch to come and trade in some skirts of their southern provinces.

For testimonies of their greatness, I shall only add what is agreed of their famous wall, and of their city Pekin. The stone wall which divides the northern parts of China from Tartary, is reckoned by some twelve, by others nine hundred miles long, running over rocks and hills, through marshes and deserts, and making way for rivers by mighty arches: it is forty-five feet high, and twenty feet thick at the bottom, divided at certain spaces by great towers: it was built above two thousand years ago; but with such admirable architecture, that where some gaps have not been broken down by the Tartars upon their irruptions, the rest is still as entire as when it was first built. The king that raised this wall appointed a million of soldiers, who were listed and paid for the defence of it against the Tartars, and took their turns, by certain numbers at certain times, for the guard of this frontier.

The imperial city of Pekin is nothing so large as several other cities of China, (whereof Nankin is esteemed the greatest) but is a regular four-square; the wall of each side is six miles in length: in each of these sides are three gates, and on each side of each gate are great palaces or forts for the guards belonging to them, which are a thousand

men to each gate. The streets run quite cross, with a thorough view and passage from each gate to that which is over against it in the opposite side; and these streets are ranged full of stately houses.

The palace of the emperor is three miles in compass, consisting of three courts, one within the other, whereof the last (where the emperor lodges) is four hundred paces square: the other two are filled with his domestics, officers, and guards, to the number of sixteen thousand persons: without these courts, are large and delicious gardens, many artificial rocks and hills, streams of rivers drawn into several canals faced with square stone, and the whole achieved with such admirable invention, cost, and workmanship, that nothing ancient or modern seems to come near it; and all served with such magnificence, order, and splendor, that the audience of a foreign ambassador, at Pekin, seems a sight as great and noble as one of the triumphs at Rome.

As other nations are usually distinguished into noble and plebeian, so that of China may be distinguished into learned and illiterate: the last makes up the body and mass of the people who are governed; the first comprehends all the magistrates that govern, and those who may in time or course succeed them in the magistracy; for no other than the learned are ever employed in the government; nor any in the greatest charges, that are not of those ranks or degrees of learning, that make them termed sages, or philosophers, or doctors among them.

But to comprehend what this government of

China is, and what the persons employed in it, there will be a necessity of knowing what their learning is, and how it makes them fit for government, very contrary to what ours in Europe is observed to do, and the reason of such different effects from the same cause.

The two great heroes of the Chinese nation were Fohu and Confuchu, whose memories have always continued among them sacred and adored. Fohu lived about four thousand years ago, and was the first founder of their kingdom; the progress whereof has ever since continued upon their records so clear, that they are esteemed by the missionary Jesuits unquestionable and infallible: for after the death of every king, the successor appoints certain persons to write the memorable actions of his predecessor's reign; and of these an epitome is afterwards drawn and entered into their registers. Fohu first reduced them from the common original lives of mankind, introduced agriculture, wedlock, distinction of sexes by different habits, laws, and orders of government: he invented characters, and left several short tables or writings of astronomy, or observations of the heavens, of morality, of physic, and political government: the characters he used seem to have been partly straight lines of different lengths, and distinguished by different points; and partly hieroglyphics; and these, in time, were followed by characters, of which each expressed one word.

In these several ways were, for many centuries, composed many books among the Chineses, in many sorts of learning, especially natural and moral phi-

losophy, astronomy, astrology, physic, and agriculture.

Something above two thousand years ago lived Confuchu, the most learned, wise, and virtuous of all the Chineses; and for whom both the king and magistrates in his own age, and all of them in the ages since, seem to have had the greatest deference that has any where been rendered to any mortal man. He writ many tracts, and in them digested all the learning of the ancients, even from the first writing or tables of Fohu; at least, all that he thought necessary or useful to mankind, in their personal, civil, or political capacities—which were then received and since prosecuted with so great esteem and veneration, that none has questioned whatever he writ, but admitted it as the truest and best rules of opinion and life; so that it is enough in all argument that Confuchu has said it.

Some time after lived a king, who, to raise a new period of time from his own name and reign, endeavoured to abolish the memory of all that had passed before him, and caused all books to be burnt, except those of physic and agriculture. Out of this ruin to learning escaped, either by chance, or some private industry, the epitomes or registers of the several successions of their kings since Fohu, and the works of Confuchu, or at least a part of them, which have lately in France been printed in the Latin tongue, with a learned preface by some of the missionary Jesuits, under the title of the works of Confucius.

After the death of this tyrannous and ambitious king, these writings came abroad, and, being the

only remainders of the ancient Chinese learning, were received with general applause, or rather veneration: four learned men, having long addicted themselves to the study of these books, writ four several tracts or comments upon them; and one of the succeeding kings made a law, that no other learning should be taught, studied, or exercised, but what was extracted out of these five books; and so learning has ever since continued in China, wholly confined to the writings of those five men, or rather to those of their prince of philosophers, the great and renowned Confucius.

The sum of his writings seem to be a body or digestion of ethics, that is, of all moral virtues, either personal, economical, civil, or political; and framed for the institution and conduct of men's lives, their families, and their governments, but chiefly of the last: the bent of his thoughts and reasonings running up and down this scale—that no people can be happy but under good governments, and no governments happy but over good men; and that for the felicity of mankind, all men in a nation, from the prince to the meanest peasant, should endeavour to be good, and wise, and virtuous, as far as his own thoughts, the precepts of others, or the laws of his country can instruct him.

The chief principle he seems to lay down for a foundation, and builds upon, is, that every man ought to study and endeavour the improving and perfecting of his own natural reason to the greatest height he is capable, so as he may never (or as seldom as can be) err and swerve from the law of nature, in the course and conduct of his life; that this, being not to be done without much thought,

inquiry, and diligence, makes study and philosophy necessary; which teaches men what is good and what is bad, either in its own nature or for theirs; and, consequently, what is to be done, and what is to be avoided, by every man in his several station or capacity: that in this perfection of natural reason consists the perfection of body and mind, and the utmost or supreme happiness of mankind: that the means and rules to attain this perfection, are chiefly not to will or desire any thing but what is consonant to his natural reason, nor any thing that is not agreeable to the good and happiness of other men, as well as our own. To this end, is prescribed the constant course and practice of the several virtues, known and agreed so generally in the world; among which, courtesy or civility, and gratitude, are cardinal with them. In short, the whole scope of all Confucius has writ seems aimed only at teaching men to live well, and to govern well; how parents, masters, and magistrates should rule, and how children, servants, and subjects should obey.

All this, with the many particular rules and instructions, for either personal, economical, or political wisdom and virtue, is discoursed by him, with great compass of knowledge, excellence of sense, reach of wit, and illustrated with elegance of style, and aptness of similitudes and examples, as may be easily conceived by any that can allow for the lameness and shortness of translations out of language and manners of writing infinitely differing from ours; so as the man appears to have been of a very extraordinary genius, of mighty learning, admirable virtue, excellent nature, a true patriot of his country, and lover of mankind.

This is the learning of the Chineses, and all other sorts are either disused or ignoble among them; all that, which we call scholastic or polemic, is unknown or unpractised, and serves, I fear, among us, for little more than to raise doubts and disputes, heats and feuds, animosities and factions in all controversies of religion or government. Even astrology, and physic, and chymistry, are but ignoble studies, though there are many among them that excel in all these; and the astrologers are much in vogue among the vulgar, as well as their predictions; the chymists apply themselves chiefly to the search of the universal medicine, for health and length of life, pretending to make men immortal, if they can find it out: the physicians excel in the knowledge of the pulse, and of all simple medicines, and go little farther; but in the first are so skilful, as they pretend not only to tell by it, how many hours or days a sick man can last, but how many years a man in perfect seeming health may live, in case of no accident or violence: and by simples they pretend to relieve all diseases that nature will allow to be cured: they never let blood; but say, "If the pot boils too fast, there is no need of lading out any of the water, but only of taking away the fire from under it;" and so they allay all heats of the blood by abstinence, diet, and cooling herbs.

But all this learning is ignoble and mechanical among them, and the Confucian only essential and incorporate to their government—into which none enters without having first passed through the several degrees. To attain it, is first necessary the

knowledge of their letters or characters; and to this must be applied at least ten or twelve years' study and diligence, and twenty for great perfection in it: for, by all I can gather out of so many authors as have written of China, they have no letters at all, but only so many characters, expressing so many words: these are said by some to be sixty, by others eighty, and by others sixscore thousand; and upon the whole, their writings seem to me to be like that of short-hand among us, in case there were a different character invented for every word in our language. Their writing is neither from the left hand to the right, like the European, nor from right to left, like the Asiatic languages; but from top to bottom of the paper in one straight line, and then beginning again at the top, till the side be full.

The learning of China, therefore, consists first in the knowledge of their language, and next in the learning, study, and practice of the writings of Confucius and his four great disciples; and as every man grows more perfect in both these, so he is more esteemed and advanced; nor is it enough to have read Confucius, unless it be discovered, by retaining the principal parts of him in their memories, and the practice of him in their lives.

The learned among them are promoted by three degrees: the first may resemble that of sophisters in our colleges, after two or three years' standing; and this degree is conferred by public examiners appointed for that purpose, who go through the chief cities of each province once a year, and, upon scrutiny, admit such of the candidates as they ap-

prove, to this degree, register their names, and give them a badge belonging to this first form of the learned.

The second degree is promoted with more form, and performed once in three years, in a great college built for that purpose in the chief city of each kingdom, by several examiners appointed by the king; and strict inquiries and questions, both of language and learning, and much criticism upon the several writings, produced by the several pretenders, and submitted to the examiners. This degree may resemble that of masters of arts in our colleges, and is conferred with a new badge belonging to it.

The third degree may be compared to that of doctors among us in any of our sciences, and is never conferred but in the imperial city of Pekin, with great forms and solemnities, after much examining, and deliberation of the persons appointed for that purpose; and of this degree there are never to be above three hundred at a time in the whole empire, besides such as are actually in the magistracy or government—who are all chosen out of the persons that have commenced or attained this degree of learning. Upon the taking each degree, they repair to a temple of Confucius, which is erected in each city, and adjoins to the colleges; and there they perform the worship and ceremonies appointed in honour of his memory, as the great prince or hero of the learned.

Of these persons all their councils and all their magistracies are composed; out of these are chosen all their chief officers and mandarines, both civil and military; with these the emperors and vice-

roys of provinces, and generals of armies, advise upon all great occasions; and their learning and virtue make them esteemed more able for the execution and discharge of all public employments than the longest practice and experience in other countries; and, when they come into armies, they are found braver and more generous in exposing their lives upon all great occasions, than the boldest soldiers of their troops.

Now for the government, it is absolute monarchy, there being no other laws in China but the king's orders and commands: and it is likewise hereditary, still descending to the next of blood.

But all orders and commands of the king proceed through his councils, and are made upon the recommendation or petition of the council proper and appointed for that affair; so that all matters are debated, determined, and concluded by the several councils; and then, upon their advices or requests made to the king, they are ratified and signed by him, and so pass into laws.

All great offices of state are likewise conferred by the king, upon the same recommendations or petitions of his several councils; so that none are preferred by the humour of the prince himself, nor by favour of any minister, by flattery or corruption; but by force or appearance of merit, of learning, and of virtue; which, observed by the several councils, gain their recommendations or petitions to the king.

The chief officers are either those of state, residing constantly at court, and by whom the whole empire is governed; or the provincial officers, viceroys, and magistrates or mandarines: for the first,

there are, in the imperial city at Pekin, six several councils; or, as some authors affirm, one great council, that divides itself into six smaller, but distinct branches. Some difference is also made by writers, concerning the nature or the business of these councils: but that which seems most generally agreed is, that the first of these six is a council of state, by whom all officers through the whole kingdom are chosen, according to their learning and merit: the second is the council of treasury, which has inspection into the whole revenue, and the receipts and payments that are made in or out of it: the third takes care of the temples, offerings, feasts, and ceremonies belonging to them; as likewise of learning, and the schools or colleges designed for it: the fourth is the council of war, which disposes of all military offices and honours, and all matters of war and peace, that is, by the king's command, issued upon their representation: the fifth takes care of all the royal or public buildings, and of their fleets: and the sixth is a council or court of justice or judicature, in all causes both civil and criminal.

Each of these councils has a president, and two assistants, or chief secretaries, whereof one sits at his right, and the other on his left hand; who digest and register the debates and orders of the council: and besides these, there are in each council ten counsellors.

By these councils, the whole empire of China is governed through all the several kingdoms that compose it; and they have in each province particular officers, intendants, and notaries, from whom they receive constant accounts, and to whom they

send constant instructions concerning all passages or affairs of moment in any of the several provinces of the kingdom.

There are, besides these six, several smaller councils; as one for the affairs of the king's women, for his household, and his domestic chancery or justice: but above all, is the council of the Colaos, or chief ministers, who are seldom above five or six in number, but persons of the most consummate prudence and experience; who, after having passed with great applause through the other councils or governments of provinces, are at last advanced to this supreme dignity, and serve as a privy council, or rather a junto, sitting with the emperor himself, which is allowed to none of the others: to these are presented all the results or requests of the other councils; and being by their advice approved, they are by the emperor signed and ratified, and so dispatched.

These are always attended by some of the chiefest and most renowned philosophers or sages of the kingdom, who attend the emperor, and serve him in receiving all petitions, and give their opinions upon them to the emperor or the Colaos; as also upon any matters of great moment and difficulty, when they are consulted: and these are chosen out of two assemblies residing at Pekin, and consisting of sixty men each; but all choice persons, whose wisdom and virtue are generally known and applauded. They are employed in all matters of learning, and giving necessary orders therein; keeping all the public writings, and ordering and digesting them; registering all laws and orders of state; and out of these are appointed, by each succeeding

king, some persons to relate and register the times and actions of his predecessor. They are, at their leisure, much given to poetry; in which they compile the praises of virtuous men and actions, satires against vice, inscriptions for monuments and triumphal arches, and such like compositions. And lastly, out of these, (as they grow in esteem and fame of wisdom and virtue) are chosen and advanced by degrees the officers of state, and counsellors in the several councils; and none ever arrives to be a Colao, that has not been one of these two assemblies.

Each particular kingdom of the empire has the same councils, or some very like them, for the government of that particular province; but there is besides, in each, a superintendent, sent more immediately from court, to inspect the course of affairs; a censor of justice and manners, without whose approval, no capital sentences are to be executed; and a third officer, employed by the empress in the nature of an almoner, whose business is only that of charity, and relief of the poor and distressed, and setting free prisoners upon small debts or offences: there is, besides, in each province, a particular council, to take care of learning, and to appoint rules and examiners for the several degrees thereof.

It were endless to enumerate all the excellent orders of this state, which seem contrived by a reach of sense and wisdom, beyond what we meet with in any other government of the world; but, by some few, the rest may be judged.

Each prince of the royal blood has a revenue assigned him, and a city where he is bound to reside,

and never to stir out of it without the emp
leave. All degrees of people are distinguish
their habit, and the several officers by several l
upon them: and the colour worn by the em
which is yellow, is never used by any other
whatsoever. Every house has a board ov
door, wherein is written the number, sex, an
lity of the persons living in it; and to a c
number of houses one is appointed to inspe
rest, and take care that this be exactly
None is admitted to bear office in any pr
where he was born, unless it be military; wh
grounded upon the belief, that in matters c
tice, men will be partial to their friends; but in
of war, men will fight best for their own cc
None ever continues in any office above three
unless upon a new election; and none, put o
miscarriage in his office, is again admitted
employment. The two great hinges of all g
ments, reward and punishment, are no where
with greater care, nor exercised with more l
and severity: their justice is rigorous upon
fences against the law, but none more exe
than upon corruption in judges: besides th
quisition is made into their ignorance and
ness, and even into carelessness and rashn
their sentences; and as the first is punishe
death, so these are with dismission and di
The rewards of honour, (besides those of ad
ment) are conferred by patents from the em
expressing merits, and granting privileges,
lars of marble, with elegant and honorary i
tions; and to merit extraordinary towards the
and country, even by erecting temples, offeri

cense, and appointing priests for the service of them. Agriculture is encouraged by so many special privileges from the crown, and the common laws or customs of the country, that whatever wars happen, the tillers of the ground are untouched, as if they were sacred, like priests in other places; so as no country in the world was ever known to be so cultivated as the whole kingdom of China. Honour and respect is no where paid to nobility and riches so much as it is here to virtue and learning, which are equally regarded both by the prince and the people: and the advancement to office of persons only for excelling in those qualities, prevents the cankers of envy and faction, that corrupt and destroy so many other governments: every one seeking preferment here only by merit, attributes to it that of other men. Though the king be the most absolute in the world, (since there are no other laws in China but what he makes) yet, all matters being first digested and represented by his councils, the humours and passions of the prince enter not into the forms or conduct of the government; but his personal favours to men or women are distributed in the preferments of his household, or out of the vast revenue that is particularly applied to it, for support of the greatest expense and magnificence that appears in any palace of the world: so that it may truly be said, that no king is better served and obeyed, more honoured, or rather adored; and no people are better governed, nor with greater ease and felicity.

Upon these foundations and institutions, by such methods and orders, the kingdom of China seems

to be framed and policed with the utmost force and reach of human wisdom, reason, and contrivance; and in practice to excel the very speculations of other men, and all those imaginary schemes of the European wits, the institutions of Xenophon, the republic of Plato, the Utopias, or Oceanas, of our modern writers: and this will perhaps be allowed by any that considers the vastness, the opulence, the populousness of this region, with the ease and facility wherewith it is governed, and the length of time this government has run. The last is three times longer than that of the Assyrian monarchy, which was thirteen hundred years, and the longest period of any government we meet with in story. The numbers of people and of their forces, the treasures and revenues of the crown, as well as wealth and plenty of the subjects, the magnificence of their public buildings and works, would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the concurring testimonies of Paulus Venetus, Martinius Kercherus, with several other relations, in Italian, Portuguese, and Dutch; either by missionary friars, or persons employed thither upon trade, or embassies upon that occasion: yet the whole government is represented as a thing managed with as much facility, order, and quiet, as a common family; though some writers affirm, the number of people in China before the last Tartar wars, to have been above two hundred millions: indeed, the canals cut through the country, or made by conjunctions of rivers, are so infinite, and of such lengths, and so perpetually filled with boats and vessels of all kinds, that one writer believes there are near as many

people in these, and the ships wherewith their havens are filled, who live upon the water, as those upon the land.

It is true, that as physicians say, the highest degree of health in a body subjects it to the greatest danger and violence of some disease, so the perfections of this government or constitution has had the same effect, joined with the accident of their situation upon such a neighbour as the Tartars: for these, by the hardness and poverty of their country and their lives, are the boldest and the fiercest people in the world, and the most enterprising. On the other side, the excellence of the Chinese wit and government renders them, by great ease, plenty, and luxury, in time effeminate, and thereby exposes them to frequent attempts and invasions of their savage neighbours: three several times, upon their records, the Tartars have conquered great parts of the kingdom of China, and, after long establishments there, have been expelled; till, (as we said before) about the year 1650, they achieved the complete and entire conquest of the whole empire, after a bloody war of above thirty years. But the force of this constitution and government appears in no circumstance or light so great as in this; that it has waded safe through so great tempests and inundations as six changes of race among their kings by civil wars, and four conquests by foreign and barbarous forces: for, under the present Tartar kings, the government continues still the same, and in the hands of the Chinese learned; and all the change that appears to have been made by such a storm or revolution, has been only that a Tartar race sits on the throne instead

of a Chinese; and the cities and strong places are garrisoned by Tartar soldiers, who fall by degrees into the manners, customs, and language of the Chineses. So great a respect, or rather veneration, is paid to this wise and admirable constitution, even by its enemies and invaders, that both civil usurpers and foreign conquerors vie with emulation who shall make greatest court, and give most support to it, finding no other means to secure their own safety and ease, by the obedience of the people, than the establishment and preservation of their ancient constitutions and government.

The great idea which may be conceived of the Chinese wisdom and knowledge, as well as their wit, ingenuity, and civility, by all we either read or see of them, is apt to be lessened by their gross and sottish idolatry; but this itself is only among the vulgar or illiterate, who worship, after their manner, whatever idols belong to each city, or village, or family; and the temples, and priests belonging to them, are in usual request among the common people and the women: but the learned adore the Spirit of the world, which they hold to be eternal, and this without temples, idols, or priests: and the emperor only is allowed to sacrifice at certain times, by himself or his officers, at two temples, in the two imperial cities of Pekin and Nankin; one dedicated to heaven, and the other to the earth.

This I mention, to show how the farthest east and west may be found to agree in notions of divinity, as well as in excellence of civil or politic constitutions, by passing at one leap from these of China to those of Peru.

SECTION III.

It is known enough, that, about the year 1484, Alonzo Sanchez, master of a Spanish vessel, that usually traded from those coasts to the Canaries and Madeiras, was, in his passage between these islands, surprised with a furious storm at east, so violent, that he was forced to let his ship drive before it without any sail; and so black, that within twenty-eight days he could not take the height of the sun: that he was at length cast upon a shore, but whether island or continent he could not tell, but full of savage people: that after infinite toils, dangers, and miseries of hunger and sickness, he made at length one of the Tercera islands, with only five men left of seventeen he carried out; and meeting there with the famous Columbo, made him such relations, and so pertinent accounts of his voyage, as gave occasion for the discovery of America, or the West-Indies, by this man, so renowned in our modern story.

Whatever predictions have been since found out, or applied towards the discovery of this new world, or stories told of a certain prince in Wales having run the same fortune, or of the ancient Carthaginians—I do not find, by all that I have read upon this subject, any reason to believe that any mortals from Europe or Africa had ever traced those unknown paths of that Western Ocean or left the least footsteps of having discovered those countries, before Alonzo Sanchez and his crew. Upon the arrival of the Spaniards there with Columbus,

they found nature as naked as the inhabitants; in most parts, no thought of business, farther than the most natural pleasures or necessities of life; nations divided by natural bounds of rivers, rocks, or mountains, or difference of language; quarrels among them only for hunger or lust; the command in wars given to the strongest or the bravest, and in peace taken up or exercised by the boldest among them; and their lives commonly spent in the most innocent entertainments of hunting, fishing, feasting, or in the most careless leisure.

There were among them many principalities, that seemed to have grown up from the original of paternal dominion, and some communities with orders and laws; but the two great dominions were those of Mexico and Peru, which had arrived to such extent of territory, power, and riches, that amazed those who had been enough acquainted with the greatness and splendour of the European kingdoms: and I never met with any story so entertaining as the relations of the several learned Spanish Jesuits, and others, concerning these countries and people, in their native innocence and simplicity. Mexico was so vast an empire, that it was well represented by the common answer of the Indians all along that coast, to the Spaniards, when they came to any part, and asked the people whether they were under Montezuma, *Quien noes esclavo de Montezuma?* or, "Who is not a slave of Montezuma?" as if they thought the whole world were so. They might truly call it slave, for no dominion was ever so absolute, so tyrannous, and so cruel as his. Among other tributes imposed on the people, one was of men to be sacrificed every

year to an ugly deformed idol, in the great temple of Mexico. Such numbers as the king pleased of poor victims, were laid upon such extents of cities or villages, or number of inhabitants, and there chosen by lot, to satisfy such bloody and inhuman taxes: these were often influenced by the priests, who, when they saw a man grow negligent, either in respect to themselves, or devotion to their idols, would send to tell the king that the gods were hungry, and thereupon the common tribute was raised; so as that year the Spaniards landed and invaded Mexico, there had been above thirty thousand men sacrificed to this cruel superstition: and this was said to have given great occasion for the easy conquests of the Spaniards, by the easy revolts and submissions of the natives to any new dominions.

The same was observed to happen in Peru, by the general hatred and aversion of the people in that empire to Atahualpa, who, being a bastard of the Ynca's family, had first by practices and subtlety, and afterwards by cruelty and violence, raised himself to the throne of Peru, and cut off, with merciless cruelty, all the masculine race of the true royal blood that were at man's estate, or near it; after that line had lasted pure and sacred, and reigned, with unspeakable felicity both to themselves and their subjects, for above eight hundred years.

This kingdom is said to have extended near seven hundred leagues in length, from north to south, and about a hundred and twenty in breadth: it is bounded on the west by the Pacific ocean; on the east by mountains impassable for men or beasts;

and, as some write, even birds themselves; the height being such, as makes their tops always covered with snow, even in that warm region. On the north it is bounded with a great river; and on the south with another, which separates it from the province of Chili, that reaches to the Magellan Straits.

The kingdom of Peru deduced its origiual from their great heroes, Mango Copac, and his wife and sister Coya Mama, who are said to have first appeared in that country, near a mighty lake, which is still sacred with them upon this occasion.

Before this time, the people of these countries are reported to have lived like the beasts among them, without any traces of orders, laws, or religion; without other food than from the trees or the herbs, or what game they could catch; without farther provision than for present hunger; without any clothing or houses; but dwelt in rocks, or caves, or trees, to be secure from wild beasts, or in tops of hills, if they were in fear of fierce neighbours. When Mango Copac and his sister came first into these naked lands, as they were persons of excellent shape and beauty, so they were adorned with such clothes as continued afterwards the usual habit of the Yncas, by which name they called themselves. They told the people, who first came about them, that they were the son and daughter of the Sun, and that their father, taking pity of the miserable condition of mankind, had sent them down to reclaim them from those bestial lives, and to instruct them how to live happily and safely, by observing such laws, customs, and orders, as their father, the Sun, had commanded these his children to

teach them. The great rule they first taught, was, that every man should live according to reason, and consequently, neither say nor do any thing to others, that they were not willing others should say or do to them; because it was against all common reason, to make one law for ourselves, and another for other people: and this was the great principle of all their morality. In the next place, that they should worship the Sun, who took care of the whole world, gave life to all creatures, and made the plants grow, and the herbs fit for food to maintain them; and was so careful and so good, as to spare no pains of his own, but to go round the world every day, to inspect and provide for all that was upon it; and had sent these his two children down on purpose, for the good and happiness of mankind, and to rule them with the same care and goodness that he did the world. After this, they taught them the arts most necessary for life; as Mango Copac, to sow maize (or the common Indian grain) at certain seasons; to preserve it against others; to build houses against inclemencies of air, and danger of wild beasts; to distinguish themselves by wedlock into several families; to clothe themselves, so as to cover at least the shame of nakedness; to tame and nourish such creatures as might be of common use and sustenance. Coya Mama taught the women to spin and weave, both cotton, and certain coarse wools of some beast among them.

With these instructions and inventions, they were so much believed in all they said, and adored for what they did and taught of common utility, that they were followed by great numbers of people,

observed and obeyed like sons of the Sun, sent down from heaven to instruct and to govern them. Mango Copac had in his hand a rod of gold, about two feet long, and five inches round. He said, that his father, the Sun, had given it him, and bid him, when he travelled northward from the lake, he should, every time he rested, strike this wand down into the ground, and where at the first stroke it should go down to the very top, he should there build a temple to the Sun, and fix the seat of his government.

This fell out to be in the vale of Cozco, where he founded that city which was head of this great kingdom of Peru.

Here he divided his company into two colonies or plantations, and called one the high Casco, and the other the low, and began here to be a lawgiver to those people. In each of these were at first a thousand families, which he caused all to be registered, with the numbers in each. This he did by strings of several colours, and knots of several kinds and colour upon them; by which both accounts were kept of things and times, and as much expressed of their minds, as was necessary in government, where neither letters nor money, nor consequently disputes or avarice, with their consequences, ever entered.

He instituted decurions through both these colonies; that is, one over every ten families, another over fifty, a third over a hundred, a fourth over five hundred, and a fifth over a thousand; and to this last they gave the name of a Curaca or Governor. Every decurion was a censor, a patron, and a judge or arbiter in small controversies among

those under his charge: they took care that every one clothed themselves, laboured, and lived according to the orders given them by the Yncas, from their father the Sun; among which, one was, that none who could work, should be idle, more than to rest after labour; and that none, who could not work, by age, sickness, or invalidity, should want, but be maintained by the others' pains. These were so much observed, that in the whole empire of Peru, and during the long race of the Ynca kings, no beggar was ever known, and no women ever so much as went to see a neighbour, but with their work in their hands, which they followed all the time the visit lasted. Upon this, I remember a strain of refined civility among them, which was, that when any woman went to see another of equal, or ordinary birth, she worked at her own work in the other's house; but if she made a visit to any of the Pallas, (which was the name by which they called all the women of the true royal blood, as Yncas was that of the men) then they immediately desired the Palla to give them a piece of her own work, and the visit passed in working for her. Idleness, sentenced by the decurions, was punished by so many stripes in public, and the disgrace was more sensible than the pain. Every colony had one supreme judge, to whom the lower decurions remitted great and difficult cases, or to whom (in such case) the criminals appealed; but every decurion that concealed any crime of those under his charge above a day and a night, became guilty of it, and liable to the same punishment. There were laws or orders likewise against theft, mutilations, murders, disobedience to officers, and adul-

eries; for every man was to have one lawful wife, but had the liberty of keeping other women as he could. The punishment of all crimes was either corporal pains or death, but commonly the last, upon these two reasons which they gave; first, that all crimes, whether great or small, were of the same nature, and deserved the same punishment, if they were committed against the divine commands, which were sent them down from the Sun; next, that to punish any man in his possessions or charges, and leave them alive, and in strength and liberty, was to leave an ill man more incensed or necessitated to commit new crimes. On the other side, they never forfeited the charge or possessions of a son for his father's offences; but the judges only remonstrated to him the guilt and punishment of them, for his warning or example. These orders had so great force and effect, that many times a whole year passed without the execution of one criminal.

There is no doubt, but that which contributed much to this great order in the state, was the disuse of other possessions than what were necessary to life, and the eminent virtue of their first great hero, or legislator, which seemed to have been entailed upon their whole race, in the course of their reign: so as, in the whole length of it, it is reported among them, that no true Ynca was ever found guilty or punished for any crime. Thus particular qualities have been observed, in old Rome, to be constant in the same families for several hundred years; as goodness, clemency, love of the people, in that of the Valerii; haughtiness, pride, cruelty, and hatred of the people, in the

of the Appii; which may come from the force of blood, of education, or example. It is certain, no government was ever established and continued by greater examples of virtue and severity, nor any ever gave greater testimonies, than the Yncas, of an excellent institution, by the progresses and successes, both in the propagation and extent of empire, in force and plenty, in greatness and magnificence of all public works, as temples, palaces, highways, bridges, and in all provisions necessary to common ease, safety, and utility of human life: so as several of the Jesuits, and particularly Acosta, are either so just or so presuming as to prefer the civil constitutions of Mango Copac before those of Lycurgus, Numa, Solon, or any other lawgivers so celebrated in the more known parts of the world.

To every colony was assigned such a compass of land, whereof one part was appropriated to the Sun; a second to the widows, orphans, poor, old, or maimed; a third to the peculiar maintenance of every family, according to their number; and a fourth to the Yuca. In this order, the whole was tilled, and the harvest, or product, laid up in several granaries; out of which it was distributed by officers to that purpose, according to the several uses for which it was designed, and new seed issued out at the season for the new tillage.

Every decurion, besides the office of a censor and judge, had that likewise of a patron or solicitor, for relief of the necessities or wants of those under his charge. They were bound to give in to the public registers, an account of all that were born, and of all that died under their charge.

None was suffered to leave the colony or people he was born in, without leave, nor to change the habit commonly used in it, by some parts or marks whereof those of each province were distinguished. None to marry out of it, no more than the Yncas out of their own blood.

The Ynca that reigned was called Capa Ynca, which the Spaniards interpret *Solo Sennor*, or "Only Lord." He ever married the first of his female kindred, either sister, niece, or cousin, to preserve the line the purest they could. Once in two years he assembled all the unmarried Yncas, men above twenty, and women above sixteen years old, and there in public married all such as he thought fit, by giving each of their hands one to the other: the same was done among the vulgar, by the Curaca of each people.

Every family, at their time of meals, ate with their doors open, so that all might see their temperance and order.

By these and other such laws and institutions, Mango Copac first settled his government or kingdom in the colonies of Cozco, which were in time multiplied into many others, by the willing confluence and recourse of many several people round about him, allured by the divine authority of his orders, by the sweetness and clemency of his reign, and by the felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed, the whole government of this race of the Yncas was rather like that of a tender father over his children, or a just, careful, and well-natured guardian over pupils, than of a lord or commander over slaves or subjects: by which they came to be so honoured or adored, that it was like sacrilege

for any common person so much as to touch the Ynca without his leave; which was given as a grace to those who served him well, or to new subjects that submitted to him.

After the extent of his kingdom into great compasses of territory round Cozco, by voluntary submission of the people, as to some evangelical, rather than legal doctrines or institutions, Mango Copac assembled all his Curacas, and told them, that his father, the Sun, had commanded him to extend his institutions and orders as far as he was able, for the good and happiness of mankind; and for that purpose, with armed troops, to go to those remoter parts that had not yet received them, and to reduce them to their observance: that the Sun had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would submit to him, and thereby accept of the good and happiness that was offered him by such divine bounty; but to distress only such as refused, without killing any that did not assail them, and then to do it justly in their own defence.

For this design, he formed and assembled troops of men, armed both with offensive, and chiefly with defensive weapons. He cast them into the order of decurions, in the same manner as he had done families; to every ten men was one officer, another to fifty, another to one hundred, a fourth to five hundred, and a fifth to a thousand: there was a sixth over five thousand; and a seventh, as a general, over ten thousand; of which number his first army was composed.

With this, and other such armies, he reduced many new territories under his empire, declaring, to every people he approached, the same things he

had done first to those who came about him nea
the great lake, and offering them the benefit of th
arts he had taught, the orders he had institute
the protection he had given his subjects, and th
felicity they enjoyed under it: those who su
mitted, were received into the same rights and e
joyments with the rest of his subjects; those wh
refused, were distressed, and pursued by his forc
till they were necessitated to accept of his offe
and conditions. He used no offensive weapo
against any till they attacked them, and then d
fensive only at first, till the danger and slaughter
his men grew otherwise unavoidable; then he su
fered his forces to fall upon them, and kill witho
mercy, and not to spare even those that yield
themselves, after having so long and obstinat
resisted. Those who submitted after the fi
threats or distresses, or bloodless opposition,
received into grace, suffered them to touch h
sacred person, made great and common feasts
them and his own soldiers together for seve
days, and then incorporated them into the body
his empire, and gave to each of them clothes
wear, and corn to sow.

By these ways, and such heroic virtues, and
the length of his reign, he so far extended his
minions, as to divide them into four provinc
over each whereof he appointed an Ynca to b
viceroy; (having many sons grown fit to comma
and in each of them established three supre
councils; the first of justice, the second of war,
the third of the revenue, of which an Ynca
likewise president, which continued ever after.

At the end of a long and adored reign, Ma

Copac fell into the last period of his life; upon the approach whereof, he called together all his children and grandchildren, with his eldest son, to whom he left his kingdom, and told them, that for his own part, he was going to repose himself with his father the Sun, from whom he came; that he advised and charged them all to go on in the paths of reason and virtue which he had taught them, till they followed him the same journey; that by this course only they would prove themselves to be true sons of the Sun, and be as such honoured and esteemed. He gave the same charge more especially and more earnestly to the Ynca his successor, and commanded him to govern his people according to his example, and the precepts he had received from the Sun; and to do it always with justice, mercy, piety, clemency, and care of the poor; and when he the prince should go in time to rest with his father the Sun, that he should give the same instructions and exhortations to his successor: and this form was accordingly used in all the successions of the race of the Yncas, which lasted eight hundred years, with the same orders, and the greatest felicity that could be of any state.

I will say nothing of the greatness, magnificence, and riches of their buildings, palaces, or temples, especially those of the Sun; of the splendor of their court, their triumphs after victories, their huntings and feasts, their military exercises and honours; but, as testimonies of their grandeur, mention only two of their highways, whereof one was five hundred leagues, plain and levelled through

mountains, rocks, and valleys, so that a carriage might drive through the whole length without difficulty; another, very long and large, paved all with cut or squared stone, fenced with low walls on each side, and set with trees, whose branches gave shade, and the fruits food, to all that passed.

I shall end this survey of their government with one remark upon their religion, which is, that though the vulgar worshipped only the Sun, yet the Amautas, who were their sages or philosophers, taught, that the Sun was only the great minister of Pachacamac, whom they adored in the first place, and to whom a great and sumptuous temple was dedicated. This word is interpreted by the Spaniard, *Animador del mundo*, or "He that animates or enlivens the world;" and seems to be yet a more refined notion of the Deity than that of the Chineses, who adored the Spirit and Soul of the world. By this principle of their religion, as all the others of their government and policy, it must, I think, be allowed, that human nature is the same in these remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated parts of the world; that the different governments of it are framed and cultivated by as great reaches and strength of reason and of wisdom, as any of ours; and some of their frames less subject to be shaken by the passions, factions, and other corruptions, to which those in the middle scene of Europe and Asia have been so often and so much exposed; that the same causes produce every where the same effects; and that the same honours and obedience are in all places but consequences or tributes paid

to the same heroic virtue or transcendent genius, in what parts soever, or under what climates of the world it fortunes to appear.

SECTION IV.

THE third survey I proposed to make, in this essay upon heroic virtue, was that of the northern region, which lies without the bounds of the Euxine and the Caspian seas, the river Oxus to the east, and the Danube to the west, which by the Greeks and Romans was called all by one general name of Scythia; and little known to any princes or subjects of the four great monarchies, otherwise than by the defeats or disgraces received in their expeditions against these fierce inhabitants of those barren countries. Such was the fatal overthrow of Cyrus and his army by the eastern Scythians, and the shameful flight of Darius from the western.

This vast region, which extends from the north-east ocean, that bounds Cataya and China to the north-west, that washes the coasts of Norway, Jutland, and some northern parts of Germany, though comprised by the ancients under the common name of Scythia, was distinguished into the Asiatic and the European, which were divided by the river Tanais, and the mountains out of which it rises. Those numerous nations may be called the eastern Scythians, who lie on that side of the Tanais, or at least the Volga; and those the western, that lie on this: among the first, the Massagetæ were the most known or talked of by the ancient writers; and among the last, the Getæ and the Sarmatæ.

The first is now comprehended under the general name of Great Tartary; and the second, under those of the Lesser Tartary, Muscovy, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark; the two last styling themselves kings of the Goths and Vandals.

How far this vast territory is inhabited northward by any race of mankind, I think none pretend to know; nor from how remote corners of those frozen mountains some of those fierce nations first crept out, whose force and arms have been so known and felt by all the rest of what was of old called the habitable world.

Whether it be that the course of conquest has run generally from the north to the south, as from the harder upon the softer, or from the poorer upon the richer nations, because men commonly attack with greater fierceness and courage than they defend; being in one spirited by desire, and in the other usually damped by fear—I cannot tell; but certain it is, how celebrated soever the four great monarchies have been by the writings of so many famous authors, who have eternized their fame, and thereby their own; yet there is no part of the world that was ever subject to Assyrian, Persian, Greek, or Roman empires, (except, perhaps, some little islands) that has not been ravaged and conquered by some of those northern nations, whom they reckoned and despised as barbarous; nor where new empires, kingdoms, principalities, or governments, have not been by them erected upon the ruins of the old; which may justly mortify the pride of mankind, the depths of their reasonings, the reach of their politics, the wisdom of their laws, and force of their discipline, and may

be allowed for a great and undisputed triumph of nature over art.

It is agreed in story, that the Scythians conquered the Medes during the periods of that race in the Assyrian empire, and were masters of Asia for fifteen years, until they returned home upon domestic occasions; that Cyrus was beaten and slain by their fury and revenge, under the leading of a woman, whose wit and conduct made a great figure in ancient story; that the Romans were defeated by the Parthians, who were of the Scythian race.

But the great hero of the eastern Scythians or Tartars, I esteem to have been Tamerlane; and, whether he was son of a shepherd or a king, to have been the greatest conqueror that was ever in the world, at least that appears upon any present records of story. His achievements were great upon China, where he subdued many provinces, and forced their king to such conditions of a peace as he was content to impose: he made war against the Muscovites with the same success; and partly by force, partly by consent, he gained a passage through their territories for that vast army which he led against Bajazet, then the terror of the world. He conquered this proud Turk, and his whole empire, as far as the Hellespont, which he crossed, and made a visit to the poor Greek emperor at Constantinople, who had sent to make alliance with him upon his first invasion of Bajazet, at whose mercy this prince then almost lay, with the small remainders of the Grecian empire. Nothing was greater or more heroical in this victo-

rious Tamerlane, than the faith and honour where-with he observed this alliance with the Greeks; for having been received at Constantinople with all the submissions that could be made him; having viewed and admired the greatness and structure of that noble city, and said, it was fit to make the seat for the empire of the world; and having the offer of it freely made him by the Greeks to possess it for his own; yet, after many honours exchanged between these two princes, he left this city in the freedom, and the Greek emperor in the possessions he found them, went back into Asia, and, in his return, conquered Syria, Persia, and India, where the Great Moguls have ever since boasted to be the race of Tamerlane. After all these conquests, he went home, and passed the rest of his age in his own native kingdom, and died a fair and natural death; which was a strain of felicity, as well as greatness, beyond any of the conquerors of the four renowned monarchies of the world. He was, without question, a great and heroic genius, of great justice, exact discipline, generous bounty, and much piety, adoring one God, though he was neither Christian, Jew, nor Mahometan; and deserves a nobler character than could be allowed by modern writers to any person of a nation so unlike themselves.

The Turks were another race of these eastern Scythians, their original countries being placed by some upon the north-east, by others upon the north-west coast of the Caspian sea; and perhaps both may have contributed to furnish such numbers as have overrun so great a part of Europe,

Asia, and Africa. But I shall have occasion to say more of them and their conquests in the next section.

That part of Scythia that lies between the two rivers of the Volga and Boristhenes, whereof the one runs into the Caspian, and the other into the Euxine sea, was the seat of the Getæ, whom Herodotus mentions as then known by the name of *Getæ immortales*, because they believed that when they died, they should go to Zamolxis, and enjoy a new life in another world; at least such of them as lived according to his orders and institutions, who had been a great prince or lawgiver among them. From this name of Getæ came that of Gothæ; and this part of Scythia, in its whole northern extent, I take to have been the vast hive out of which issued so many mighty swarms of barbarous nations, who, under the several names of Goths, Vandals, Alans, Lombards, Huns, Bulgars, Francs, Saxons, and many others, broke in, at several times and places, upon the several provinces of the Roman empire, like so many tempests, tore in pieces the whole fabric of that government, framed many new ones in its room, changed the inhabitants, language, customs, laws, the usual names of places and of men, and even the very face of nature, where they came; and planted new nations and dominions in their room. Thus Italy, after many spoils and invasions of the Goths and Vandals, came to be possessed by the Lombards, Pannonia by the Huns, Thracia by the Bulgars, the southern parts of Spain, or Andalusia, by the Vandals, the east, or Catalonia, by the Catti and Alani; the rest of that continent

by the Goths. Gaul was subdued by the Franes, and Britain by the Saxons—both which nations are thought to have come anciently from the more northern regions, and seated themselves in those parts of Germany that were afterwards called by their names, from whence they proceeded in time to make their latter conquests. The Scutes, who conquered Scotland and Ireland, and possessed them under the names of Albin Scutes, and Irin Scutes, I guess to have come from Norway, and to have retained more of the ancient Scythians, (before the Goths came into those parts) both in their language and habit, as that of mantles, and in the custom of removing from one part to another, according to the seasons or conveniences of pasture. The Normans, that came into France, I take likewise to be a later race from Norway, but after the Gothic orders and institutions had gained more footing in that province.

The writers of those times content themselves to lay the disgraces and ruins of their countries upon the numbers and fierceness of these savage nations that invaded them, or upon their own disunions and disorders, that made way for so easy conquests; but I cannot believe that the strange successes and victorious progresses of these northern conquerors should have been the effect only of tumultuary arms and numbers, or that governments erected by them, and which have lasted so long in Europe, should have been framed by unreasonable or unthinking men. It is more likely, that there was among them some force of order, some reach of conduct, as well as some principle of courage,

above the common strain, that so strange adventures could not be achieved but by some enchanted knights.

That which first gave me this thought, was the reflection upon those verses in Lucan:

——— populos quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus, haud urget lethi metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animique capaces
Mortis, et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.

Happy in their mistake, those people whom
The northern pole aspects, whom fear of death
(The greatest of all human fears) ne'er moves;
From hence their courage, prone to rush on steel:
Their minds despising death; that think it mean
To spare a life that must again return.

By this passage, it appears, that sixteen hundred years ago, those northern people were distinguished from all others by a fearlessness of death, grounded upon the belief of another life, which made them despise the care of preserving this.

Whether such an opinion were first infused among them by Zamolxis, and propagated by Odin among his followers, or by him invented, I will not conjecture: it may have been either one or the other; since the Goths he led into the north-west parts of Europe are agreed to have come from the Getæ, who are placed near the river Tanais: for those vast Scythian regions were divided into infinite several nations, separated by the common natural bounds of rivers, lakes, mountains, woods, or marshes. Each of these countries was like a mighty

hive, which, by the vigour of propagation and health of climate, growing too full of people, threw out some new swarm at certain periods of time, that took wing, and sought out some new abode, expelling or subduing the old inhabitants, and seating themselves in their rooms, if they liked the conditions of place and commodities of life they met with; if not, going on till they found some other more agreeable to their present humours or dispositions. Sometimes the expelled nations took heart, and when they fled from one country invaded another, and revenged the injuries of some cruel neighbours upon others that were weaker, but more innocent; and so, like waves, thrust on one the other, for mighty length of space or countries. Sometimes the conquerors augmented their numbers and forces with the strongest and most adventurous of those nations they first invaded, by their voluntary accession into the shares or hopes of their future fortunes; and so went on to farther conquests.

The usual manner of these expeditions was, that when a country grew too full of people for the growth of it to supply, they assembled together all that were fit to bear arms, and divided themselves into two bands, whereof one stayed at home to inhabit and defend their own, and the other went to seek new adventures, and possess some other they could gain by force of arms; and this was done sometimes by lot, and sometimes by agreement between the two divisions. That band or colony that went abroad, chose their leader among those in most repute and esteem for wisdom or for courage, and these were their commanders or generals in

war; and if they lived and succeeded, were the first princes of those countries they conquered, and chose for the seat of their new colony or kingdom.

It seems agreed by the curious inquirers into the antiquities of the Runic language and learning,*

* *Excerpta ex Eddâ.*

Hic Odinus fatidicus erat, ut et ejus conjux, unde nomen suum in Septentrione præ cunctis regibus maxime celebratum iri prævidit. Hâc motus causâ, ex Turciâ iter molitus erat, adjuncto sibi magno numero militum juvenum et seniorum utriusque sexûs. Quascumque terras peragrârunt, divinis efferebantur encomiis, Diis quam hominibus similiores ab universis judicati; nec prius subtiterunt quam terram ingressi essent quæ nunc Saxonia appellatur, ubi per multos annos Odinus vixit, istamque regionem late possedit; quam cum distribuisset inter filios, ita ut Vagdeggo Orientalem Saxoniam, Begdego Westphaliam, Siggo Franconiam determinavit, ipse in aliam migravit regionem, quæ tunc Reidgotolandia dicebatur, et quicquid ibi placuit sibi vindicavit. Huic terræ præfecit filium Skioldam, ex quo Freidlefus genitus est, cujus posteri Skioldungar sive Skioldiades nominantur, a quâ stirpe Daniæ reges descenderunt, ista Reidgotolandia, nunc Jutlandia appellatur.

Ex Snorrone.

Odinus heros in Asgordiâ prope Tanaim, sacrorum gentilium summus antistes, duodecim senatores, qui cæteris pietate et sapientiâ præstarent, religioni curandæ et juri dicendo præfecit. Hic magnanimus et fortis bellator innumera regna ditionesque suam redegit in potestatem. Manus ducum suorum vertici imponens, eos consecrabat, qui in pugnam euntes nomen Odini nuncupabant. Othinus fratribus suis regnum Asgardiæ commisit: ipse in Russiam profectus, et inde in Saxoniam, eam sibi subjugavit, et filiis in regendum commisit. Inauditi generis miracula variis exercuit præstigiis: magisterium publicum Magiæ præci-

that Odin, or Woden, or Goden, (according to the different northern dialects) was the first and great hero of the western Scythians; that he led a mighty swarm of the Getes, under the name of Goths, from the Asiatic Scythia into the farthest north-west parts of Europe; that he seated and spread his kingdom round the whole Baltic sea, and over all the islands in it, and extended it westward to the ocean, and southward to the Elve, which was anciently esteemed the bound between the Scythians and the Germans; that this vast country was in the ancient Gothic term called Biarmia, and is by some authors termed *Officina Gentium*, having furnished all those swarms of Goths, Vandals, Saxons, Angles, Jutes, Danes, Normans, which so often infested, and at length subdued, all the western provinces of Europe. Some write, that he extended his conquests even as far as Franconia itself; but all agree that this Odin was the first inventer of, at least the first engraver of, the Runic letters or characters, sometimes so

piendæ instituit; in varias formarum species se transmutare noverat; tantâ eloquii dulcedine audientes demulcere poterat, ut dictis ejus nullam non fidem adhiberent. Carminibus inter loquendum crebro prolatis miram sermoni gratiam conciliabat; tantâ ludificandorum oculorum peritiâ callebat, ut sæpe corpus suum velut spiritu suppresso humi prosterneret, evigilans se longinquas oras peragrâsse, et quid ibi rerum gereretur comperisse asseverabat. Ad summum, Runis suis et incantationibus incredibilia patrando, tam clarum sibi nomen peperit, ut sapientiæ et potentiæ suæ et Asianorum per omnes brevi nationes sit debitum, quo evenit ut Suecl aliique populi Boreales Odino sacrificia dependerent. Post obitum multis apparuit, multis victoriam contulit, alios in Walhalde, id est, aulam Plutonis, invitavit.

famous, and at last so infamous in the world, by the vulgar opinion and imputation of all sorts of charms, enchantments, or witchcrafts, to the use and force of those strange characters; that he instituted many excellent orders and laws, made the distinction of seasons, the divisions of time, was an invincible warrior, a wise lawgiver, loved and obeyed during life by his subjects, and after his death adored as one of their three chief gods; amongst which he was the god of war, Thor of thunder and tempest, Frea of pleasure; by whose names, for an eternal memory, three days of the week are called.

I will not enter into his story, nor that of his succession, or the infinite and famous revolutions it produced in the world, nor in the more curious search of the time of his expedition, which must have been very ancient, and is thereby left doubted and undetermined; but if it be true that he was inventer of the Runic characters, some writers of that language will make him older than Evander, by affirming their Runic letters to have been more ancient than the Latin, which were first brought into Italy in his time. For my own part, I should guess, by all I have perused of those antiquities, that this expedition may have been made two thousand years ago, or thereabouts. So much is true; that the Runes were, for long periods of time, in use, upon materials more lasting than any others employed to that purpose; for instead of leaves, or barks, or wax, or parchments, these were engraven upon stones or planks of oaks, upon artificial obelisks or pillars, and even upon natural rocks, in great numbers and extent of lines; but more of

this Runic subject will occur upon that of poetry; and I shall only observe, among the constitutions of these northern people, three principles of a strain very extraordinary, and perhaps peculiar to themselves; and which extended very far into the fortunes and conquests of their arms, and into the force and duration of their kingdoms: the first of these is a principle of religion or superstition, the next of learning, and the last of policy or civil government.

Whether the first were deduced from that of Zamolxis among the Getes, styled, of old, immortals, or introduced by Odin among the western Goths, it is certain, that an opinion was fixed and general among them, that death was but the entrance into another life; that all men who lived lazy and unactive lives, and died natural deaths, by sickness or by age, went into vast caves under ground, all dark and miry, full of noisome creatures usual in such places, and there for ever grovelled in endless stench and misery: on the contrary, all who gave themselves to warlike actions and enterprises, to the conquests of their neighbours, and slaughter of enemies, and died in battle, or of violent deaths upon bold adventures or resolutions, they went immediately to the vast hall or palace of Odin, their god of war, who eternally kept open house for all such guests; where they were entertained at infinite tables, in perpetual feasts and mirth, carousing every man in bowls made of the skulls of their enemies they had slain; according to which numbers, every one, in these mansions of pleasure, was the most honoured and the best entertained.

How this opinion was printed in the minds of these fierce mortals, and what effect it had upon their thoughts and passions concerning life and death; as it is touched elegantly in those verses of Lucan before recited, so it is lively represented in the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth stanzas of that song or epicedium of Regner Ladbrog, one of their famous kings, which he composed in the Runic language about eight hundred years ago, after he was mortally stung by a serpent, and before the venom seized upon his vitals. The whole sonnet is recited by Olaus Wormius, in his Literatura Runica, (who has very much deserved from the commonwealth of learning) and is very well worth reading by any that love poetry, and to consider the several stamps of that coin according to several ages and climates; but that which is extraordinary in it, is, that such an alacrity or pleasure in dying was never expressed in any other writing, nor imagined among any other people. The two stanzas are thus translated into Latin by Olaus:

STANZA XXV.

Pugnacius ensibus
Hoc ridere me facit semper,
Quod Balderi patris scamna
Parata scio in aulâ.
Bibemus cerevisiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum:
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus:
Non venio desperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.

STANZA XXIX.

Fert animus finire:
Invitant me Dysæ,
Quas ex Odini aulâ
Othinus mihi misit.
Lætus cerevisiam cum Asis
In summâ sede bibam.
Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ:
Ridens moriar.

I am deceived, if in this sonnet, and a following ode of Scallogrim, (which was likewise made by him after he was condemned to die, and deserved his pardon for a reward) there be not a vein truly poetical, and, in its kind, Pindaric, taking it with the allowance of the different climates, fashions, opinions, and languages of such distant countries.

I will not trouble myself with more passages out of these Runic poems, concerning this superstitious principle, which is so perfectly represented in these, with the posession it had taken of the noblest souls among them; for such this Ladbrog appears to have been, by his perpetual wars and victories in those northern continents, and in England, Scotland, and Ireland; but I will add a testimony of it, which was given me at Nimeguen, by count Oxenstern, the first of the Swedish ambassadors in that assembly. In discourse upon this subject, and confirmation of this opinion having been general among the Goths of those countries, he told me there was still in Sweden a place which was a memorial of it, and was called Odin's Hall; that it was a great bay in the sea, encompassed on three sides with steep and ragged rocks; and that, in the time of the Gothic paganism, men that were

either sick of diseases they esteemed mortal or incurable, or else grown invalid with age, and thereby past all military action, and fearing to die meanly and basely (as they esteemed it) in their beds, they usually caused themselves to be brought to the nearest part of these rocks, and from thence threw themselves down into the sea; hoping, by the boldness of such a violent death, to renew the pretence of admission in the hall of Odin, which they had lost, by failing to die in combat and by arms.

What effect such a principle (sucked in with instruction and education, and well believed) must have upon the passions and actions of a people naturally strong and brave, is easy to conceive; and how far it went beyond all the strains of the boldest and firmest philosophy: for this reached no farther than constancy in death, or indifferency in the opinion of that or of life; but the other infused a scorn of life, and a desire of death; nay, fear and aversion even for a natural death, with pursuit and longing for a violent one, contrary to the general opinions of all other nations; so as they took delight in war and dangers, as others did in hunting, or such active sports; and fought as much for the hopes of death as of victory, and found as much pleasure in the supposed advantages and consequences of one, as in the real enjoyments of the other. This made them perpetually in new motions or designs, fearless and fierce in the execution of them, and never caring in battle to preserve their lives longer than to increase the slaughter of their enemies, and thereby their own renown here, and felicity hereafter.

Their decisions of right and just were by arms, and mortal combats allowed by laws, approved by princes, assisted by formal judges, and determined by death or victory: from hence came all those justs, and tiltings, and tournaments, so long in use, and so much celebrated in these parts of the world: their marriage-feasts were solemnized by lances and swords, by blows, by wounds, and sometimes by death, till that custom was disgraced by the deplorable end of Henry II. of France, and the fatal lance of Montgomery. From hence came the long use of legal and of single combats, when the right of titles or lands was difficult; or when a person, accused of any crime, denied absolutely what his accuser positively affirmed, and no other proof could on either side be produced. It is known in story, how long and how frequent this was in use among all the Gothic races, and in the several kingdoms or principalities erected by them, even after the profession of Christianity among them. When it grew too infamous, upon the entrance of learning and civility, and the laws were ashamed of allowing trials of blood and violence, yet the custom could not be extinguished, but made way for that of private duels, and for the lie being accounted a just ground of fighting, in point of honour, because it had been so, in point of law, during the barbarous ages: this seems to have begun upon the famous challenge that passed between Charles V. and Francis I. which, though without effect, yet it is enough known and lamented, how much of the bravest blood of Christendom has been spilt by that example, especially in France, during the several succeeding reigns, till it seems to have

been extinguished by the just severity, and to the just honour of the present king.

But to return to the bold authors of these customs, unknown to the Greek and Roman nations. Their bodies, indeed, were hard and strong, their minds rough and fierce, their numbers infinite, which was owing perhaps all to their climate; but, besides these advantages, their courage was undaunted, their business was war, their pleasures were dangers, their very sports were martial; their disputes and processes were decided by arms; they feared nothing but too long life, decays of age, and a natural or slothful death; any violent or bloody they desired and pursued; and all this from their opinion of one being succeeded by miseries, the other by felicities, of a future and a longer life.

For my own part, when I consider the force of this principle, I wonder not at the effects of it, their numerous conquests, nor immensity of countries they subdued, nor that such strange adventures should have been finished by such enchanted men. But when Christianity, introduced among them, gave an end to these delusions, the restless humour of perpetual wars and actions was likewise allayed; and they turned their thoughts to the establishment of their several kingdoms, in the provinces they had subdued and chosen for their seats, and applied themselves to the orders and constitutions of their civil or political governments.

Their principle of learning was, that all they had among them was applied to the knowledge and distinction of seasons by the course of the stars, and to the prognostics of weather, or else to the praises of virtue, which consisted among them only in jus-

tiçe to their own nation and valour against their enemies; and the rest was employed in displaying the brave and heroic exploits of their princes and leaders, and the prowess and conquests of their nation: all their writings were composed in verse, which were called Runes or Viises, and from thence the term of *wise* came; and these poets or writers, being esteemed the sages among them, were, as such, always employed in the attendance upon their princes, both in courts and camps, being used to advise in their conduct, and to record their actions, and celebrate their praises and triumphs. The traces of these customs have been seen within the compass of this very age, both in Hungary and Ireland, where, at their feasts, it was usual to have these kind of poets entertain the company with their rude songs, or panegyrics of their ancestors' bold exploits—among which, the number of men that any of them had slain with their own hands, was the chief ingredient in their praises. By these they rewarded the prowess of the old men among them, and inflamed the courage of the young, to equal the boldness and achievements of those that had travelled before them in these paths of glory.

The principle of politic or civil government, in these northern nations, seems derived from that which was military among them. When a new swarm was upon the wing, they chose a leader or general for the expedition, and, at the same time, the chief officers to command the several divisions of their troops: these were a council of war to the general, with whom they advised in the whole progress of their enterprise; but upon great occasions

as a pitched battle, any military exploit of great difficulty and danger, the choice of a country to fix their seat, or the conditions of peace that were proposed, they assembled their whole troops, and consulted with all the soldiers or people they commanded. This Tacitus observes to have been in use among the German princes in his time; to consult of smaller affairs with the chief officers, but *de majoribus omnes*.

If a leader of these colonies succeeded in his attempts, and conquered a new country, where, by common consent, they thought fit to reside, he grew a prince of that country while he lived; and when he died, another was chosen to succeed him by a general election. The lands of the subdued territory were divided into greater and smaller shares besides that reserved to the prince and government: the great were given to the chief officers of the army, who had best deserved and were most esteemed; the smaller to the common or private soldiers. The natives conquered were wholly despoiled of their lands, and reckoned but as slaves by the conquerors, and so used for labour and servile offices; and those of the conquering nation were the freemen. The great sharers, as chief officers, continued to be the council of the prince in matters of state, as they had been before in matters of war; but in the great affairs, and of common concernment, all that had the smaller shares in land were assembled and advised with. The first great shares were, in process of time, called baronies, and the small, fees.

I know very well how much critic has been employed, by the most learned, as Erasmus, Selden,

Spelman, as well as many others, about the two words *Baro* and *Feudum*, and how much pains have been taken to deduce them from the Latin, Greek, and even the Hebrew and Egyptian tongues; but I find no reason, after all they have said, to make any doubt of their having been both the original of the Gothic or Northern language; or of *Baron* having been a term of dignity, of command, or of honour, among them; and *Feudum*, of a soldier's share of land. I find the first used above eight hundred years ago, in the verses mentioned of king Lodbrog, when one of his exploits was to have conquered eight Barons; and though fees, or *feuda*, were in use under later Roman emperors, yet they were derived from the Gothic customs, after so great numbers of those nations were introduced into the Roman armies, and employed, upon the decline of that empire, against other more barbarous invasions: for, of all the northern nations, the Goths were esteemed the most civil, orderly, and virtuous; and are for such commended by St. Austin and Salvian, who makes their conquests to have been given them by the justice of God, as a reward of their virtue, and a punishment upon the Roman provinces for the viciousness and corruptions of their lives and governments. So as it is no wonder if many Gothic words and customs entered early into the Roman empire.

As to the word *Baro*, it is not, that I find, at all agreed among the learned, from whence to derive it, and the objections raised against their several conjectures seem better grounded than the arguments for any of them; but what that term imported, is, out of their several accounts, easy to

collect, and confirmed by what still remains in all the constitutions of the Gothic governments: for, though by Barons are now meant, in England, such as are created by patent, and thereby called to the house of lords; and Baron, in Spanish, signifies only a man of note or worth; and the quality denoted by that title be different in the several countries of Christendom—yet there is no question but they were originally such persons as, upon the conquest of a country, were by the conquering prince invested in the possession of certain tracts or proportions of free lands, or at least such as they held by no other tenure but that of military service, or attendance upon the prince in his wars, with a certain number of armed men. These in Germany, France, Scotland, seem to have had, and some still to retain, a sovereign power in their territories, by the exercise of what is called high and low justice, or the power of judging criminal as well as civil causes, and inflicting capital punishments among those that held under them, either as vassals or in fee: but I have not met with any thing of this kind recorded in England, though the great barons had not only great numbers of knights, but even petty barons, holding under them.

I think the whole realm of England was by William the Conqueror divided into baronies, however the distinctions may have been long since worn out: but in Ireland they still remain, and every country there is divided into so many baronies, which seem to have been the shares of the first barons: and such as these great proprietors of land, composed, in all these north-west regions, one part in the states of the country or kingdom.

Now for the word *Barons*, though it be a presumption to assert any thing after the doubts or unresolved disputes of such learned men; yet I shall adventure to give my own opinion, how different soever from any that has been yet advanced. I find, in Guagnini's description of Sarmatia, printed in the year 1581, that in the several dukedoms, palatinates, or principalities, which then composed the mighty empire of Muscovy, those persons who were the chief in possessions of lands, offices, or dignities, among them, next to the prince, duke, or palatine, were by one common appellation called his *boiarons*, as those of the same sort or quality, in the present court of the great dukes, are now termed his *boiars*, which may be a corrupt or particular dialect from the other. Now I think it is obvious to any man, that tries how easy a change is made in the contraction of *boiarons* into *barons*, which is but of the two first syllables into one, and that with an A long, as barons is commonly used: and those countries above-mentioned having been the seats of our conquering Goths, I am apt to think their *boiarons* grew, with their conquests, to be the original *barons* in all those several nations or dominions where they were extended.

From the divisions, forms, and institutions already deduced, will naturally arise and plainly appear the frame and constitution of the Gothic government, which was peculiar to them, and different from all before known or observed in story; but so universal among these northern nations, that it was, under the names of king, or prince, or duke, and his estates, established in all parts of Europe, from the north-east of Poland and Hungary to the south-

west of Spain and Portugal, though these vast countries had been subdued by so many several expeditions of these northern people, at such diverse times and under so different appellations; and it seems to have been invented or instituted by the sages of the Goths, as a government of freemen, which was the spirit or character of the north-west nations, distinguishing them from those of the south and the east, and gave the name of the Francs among them.

I need say nothing of this constitution, which is so well known in our island, and was anciently the same with ours in France and Spain, as well as Germany and Sweden, where it still continues, consisting of a king or a prince, who is sovereign both in peace and war; of an assembly of barons, (as they were originally called) whom he uses as his council; and another of the commons, who are representative of all that are possessed of free lands, whom the prince assembles and consults with, upon the occasions or affairs of the greatest and common concern to the nation. I am apt to think that the possession of land was the original right of election, or representative among the commons, and that cities and boroughs were entitled to it, as they were possessed of certain tracts of land, that belonged or were annexed to them; and so it is still in Friezland, the seat from whence our Gothic or Saxon ancestors came into these islands: for the ancient seat of the Gothic kingdom was of small or no trade; nor England in their time: their humours and lives were turned wholly to arms; and, long after the Norman conquest, all the trade of England was driven by Jews, Lombards, or Milaners; so as the

right of boroughs seems not to have risen from regards of trade, but of land; and were places where so many freemen inhabited together, and had such a proportion of land belonging to them. However it be, this constitution has been celebrated, as framed with great wisdom and equity, and as the truest and justest temper that has been ever found out between dominion and liberty; and it seems to be a strain of what Heraclitus said was the only skill or knowledge of any value in the politics, which was the secret of governing all by all.

This seems to have been intended by these Gothic constitutions, and by the election and representation of all that possessed lands: for, since a country is composed of the land it contains, they esteemed a nation to be so, of such as were the possessors of it; and what prince soever can hit of this great secret, needs know no more, for his own safety and happiness, and that of the people he governs: for no state or government can ever be much troubled or endangered by any private factions, which is grounded upon the general consent and satisfaction of the subjects, unless it be wholly subdued by the force of armies; and then the standing armies have the place of subjects, and the government depends upon the contented or discontented humours of the soldiers in general, which has more sudden and fatal consequences upon the revolutions of state, than those of subjects in unarmed governments. So the Roman, Egyptian, and Turkish empires appear to have always turned upon the arbitrary wills and wild humours of the Prætorian bands, the Mamalucs, and the Janizaries: and so I pass from the Scythian conquests, and Go-

thic constitutions, to those of the Arabians or Mahometans, in the world.

SECTION V.

THE last survey I proposed of the four outlying (or, if the learned so please to call them, barbarous) empires, was that of the Arabians, which was indeed of a very different nature from all the rest, being built upon foundations wholly enthusiastic, and thereby very unaccountable to common reason, and in many points contrary even to human nature; yet few others have made greater conquests or more sudden growths, than this Arabian or Saracen empire; but having been of later date, and the course of it engaged in perpetual wars with the Christian princes, either of the East or West, of the Greek or the Latin churches, both the original and progress of it have been easily observed, and are most vulgarly known, having been the subject of many modern writers, and several well-digested histories or relations; and therefore I shall give but a very summary account of both.

About the year 600, or near it, lived Mahomet, a man of mean parentage and condition; illiterate, but of great spirit and subtle wit, like those of the climate or country where he was born or bred, which was that part of Arabia called the Happy, esteemed the loveliest and sweetest region of the world, and like those blessed seats so finely painted by the poet:

Quas neque concutiunt venti, neque nubila nimbis
Adspergunt, neque nix acri concreta pruinâ

Cana cadens violat, semperque innubilus æther
Contegit, et late diffuso lumine ridet.

He was servant to a rich merchant of this country, and after his master's death, having married his widow, came to be possessed of great wealth, and of a numerous family. Among others, he had entertained in it a Sergian monk, or at least called by that name, whose vicious and libertine dispositions of life had made him leave his enclosure and profession; but otherwise a man of great learning. Mahomet was subject to fits of an epilepsy, or falling-sickness; and, either by the customs of that climate, or the necessity of that disease, very temperate and abstaining from wine, but in the rest voluptuous and dissolute. He was ashamed of his disease, and, to disguise it from his wife and family, pretended his fits were trances into which he was cast at certain times by God Almighty, and in them instructed in his will, and his true worship and laws, by which he would be served; and that he was commanded to publish them to the world, to teach them, and see them obeyed.

About this age all the Christian provinces of the East were overrun with Arianism, which, however refined or disguised by its learned professors and advocates, either denied or undermined the divinity of Christ, and allowed only his prophetical office. The countries of Arabia and Egypt were filled with great numbers of the scattered Jews, who, upon the last destruction of their country in Adrian's time, had fled into these provinces to avoid the ruin and even extinction which was threatening their nation by that emperor, who,

after all the desolations he made in Judea, transported what he could of their remaining numbers into Spain. The rest of Arabia and Egypt was inhabited by Gentiles, who had little sense left of their decayed and derided idolatry, and had turned their thoughts and lives to luxury and pleasure, and to the desires and acquisition of riches, in order to those ends. Mahomet, to humour and comply with these three sorts of men, and by the assistance of the monk, his only confident, framed a scheme of religion, he thought likely to take in, or at least not to shock, the common opinions and dispositions of them all, and yet most agreeable to his own temper and designs.

He professed one God, creator of the world, and who governed all things in it: that God had in ancient times sent Moses, his first and great prophet, to give his laws to mankind, but that they were neither received by the Gentiles, nor obeyed by the Jews themselves, to whom he was more peculiarly sent: that this was the occasion of the misfortunes and captivities that so often befell them: that in the latter ages, he had sent Christ, who was the second prophet, and greater than Moses, to preach his laws and observation of them in greater purity, but to do it with gentleness, patience, and humility, which had found no better reception or success among men than Moses had done: that for this reason God had now sent his last and greatest prophet, Mahomet, to publish his laws and commands with more power; to subdue those to them by force and violence who should not willingly receive them; and for this end, to establish a kingdom upon earth that should propa-

gate this divine law and worship throughout the world: that, as God had designed utter ruin and destruction to all that refused them, so, to those that professed and obeyed them, he had given the spoils and possessions of his and their enemies, as a reward in this life, and had provided a paradise hereafter, with all sensual enjoyments, especially of beautiful women, new created for that purpose; but with more transcendent degrees of pleasure and felicity to those that should die in the pursuit and propagation of them through the rest of the world, which should in time submit or be subdued under them. These, with the severe prohibition of drinking wine, and the principle of predestination, were the first and chief doctrines and institutions of Mahomet, and which were received with great applause, and much confluence of Arians, Jews, and Gentiles in those parts; some contributing to the rise of his kingdom by the belief of his divine mission and authority; many, by finding their chief principles, or religious opinions contained or allowed in them; but most, by their voluptuousness and luxury, their passions of avarice, ambition, and revenge, being thereby complied with. After his fits or trances, he writ the many several parts or chapters of his Alcoran, as newly inspired and dictated from heaven, and left in them that which to us, and in its translations, looks like a wild fanatic rhapsody of his visions or dreams, or rather of his fantastical imaginations and inventions; but has ever passed among all his followers, as a book sacred and divine; which shows the strange difference of conceptions among men.

To be short, this contagion was so violent, that

it spread from Arabia into Egypt and Syria; and his power increased with such a sudden growth, as well as his doctrine, that he lived to see them overspread both those countries, and a great part of Persia; the decline of the old Roman empire making easy way for the powerful ascent of this new comet, that appeared with such wonder and terror in the world, and with a flaming sword made way wherever it came, or laid all desolate that opposed it.

Mahomet left two branches of his race for succession, which was in both esteemed divine among his Mussulmans or followers: the one was continued in the caliphs of Persia, and the other of Egypt and Arabia: both these, under the common appellation of Saracens, made mighty and wonderful progress, the one to the east, and the other to the west.

The Roman empire, or rather the remainders of it, seated at Constantinople, and afterwards called the Greek, was, for some time past, most cruelly infested, and in many parts shaken to pieces, by the invasions or incursions of many barbarous northern nations, and thereby disabled from any vigorous opposition to this new and formidable enemy. Besides, the divisions among Christians made way for their conquests, and the great increase of proselytes, in this new religion. The Arians, persecuted in the Eastern provinces by some of the Greek emperors (of the same faith with the Western, or Roman church) made easy turns to the Mahometan doctrines, that professed Christ to have been so great and so divine a prophet, which, was all in a manner that they themselves allowed him. The

cruel persecutions of the other Grecian princes against those Christians that would not admit the use of images, made great numbers of them go over to the Saracens, who abhorred that worship as much as themselves. The Jews were allured by the profession of unity in the Godhead, which they pretended not to find in the Christian faith, and by the great honour that was paid by the Saracens to Moses, as a prophet and a law-giver, sent immediately from God into the world. The Pagans met with an opinion of the old gentilism in that of predestination, which was the Stoic principle, and that whereinto unhappy men commonly fell, and sought for refuge in the uncertain conditions or events of life, under tyrannical and cruel governments: so, as some Roman authors observe, that the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero, made more Stoics in Rome, than the precepts of Zeno, Chrysippus, and Cleanthes.

The great extent and power of the Persian branch or empire, continued long among the Saracens, but was overrun at length by the Turks first, and then by the Tartars under Tamerlane, whose race continued there till the time of Ishmael, from whom the present sophies are derived. This Ishmael was an enthusiast, or at least a pretender to new relations in the Mahometan religion: he professed to reform both their doctrines and their manners, and taught, that Haly alone, of Mahomet's followers, ought to be owned and believed as his true successor, which made the Persians ever since esteem the Turks for heretics, as the Turks do them. He gained so many followers by his new and refined principles or professions of devotion, that he made

himself king of Persia, by the same way that the Xeriffs came to be kings of Morocco and Fez, about Charles Vth's time, and Cromwell to be protector of England, and Oran Zeb to be Great Mogul in our age, which were the four great dominions of the fanatic strain.

The Arabian branch of the Saracen empire, after a long and mighty growth in Egypt and Arabia, seems to have been at its height under the great Almanzor, who was the illustrious and renowned hero of this race, and must be allowed to have as much excelled, and as eminently, in learning, virtue, piety, and native goodness, as in power, in valour, and in empire. Yet this was extended from Arabia, through Egypt, and all the northern tracts of Africa, as far as the Western Ocean, and over all the considerable provinces of Spain: for it was in his time, and by his victorious ensigns, that the Gothic kingdom in Spain was conquered, and the race of those famous princes ended in Rodrigo. All that country was reduced under the Saracen empire, (except the mountains of Leon and Oviedo) and were afterwards divided into several Moorish kingdoms, whereof some lasted to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella: nay, the Saracen forces, after the conquest of Spain, invaded the southern parts of France, and proceeded with the same success as far as Tours, till they were beaten and expelled by Charles Martel, who, by those exploits, raised his renown so high, as to give him the ambition of leaving the kingdom of France to his own line, in Pepin and Charlemain, by the deposition and extinction of the first race, which had lasted from Pharamond.

I do not remember ever to have read a greater and a nobler character of any prince, than of this great Almanzor, in some Spanish authors, or translators of his story out of the Arabian tongue, wherein the learning then remaining in the world flourished most; and that of ancient Greece, as it had been translated into their language, so it seems to have been, by the acuteness and excellency of those more southern wits, in some parts very much improved.

This kingdom continued great under the caliphs of Egypt, who, degenerating from the example and virtues of Almanzor, came to be hated of their subjects, and to secure themselves from them, by a mighty guard of Circassian slaves: these were brought young from the country now called Mengrelia, between the Euxine and Caspian seas, the ancient seat of the Amazons, and which has, in past and present times, been observed to produce the bravest bodies of men, and most beautiful of women, in all the Eastern regions. These slaves were called Mamalucs when they came into Egypt, and were brought up with care, and in all exercises and discipline, that might render them the most martial troops or bands of soldiers that could any where be composed, and so they proved. The commander of this mighty band or guard of Mamalucs was called their sultan, who was absolute over them, as the general of an army is in time of war. They served, for some time, to support the government of the caliphs, and enslave the Egyptians; till one of the sultans, finding his own power, and the general disesteem wherein the caliph was fallen by the effeminate softness or luxury of his life, deposed

him first, then slew him, and took upon himself the government of Egypt, under the name of Sultan, and reigned by the sole force and support of his Mamaluc troops, which were continually increased by the merchandise and transportation of Circassian slaves. This government lasted, with great terror in Egypt, between two and three hundred years, during which time the new sultans were elected, upon the death or deposing of the old, by the choice of the Mamalucs, and always out of their own bands. The sons of the deceased sultans enjoyed the estates and riches left by their fathers; but, by the constitutions of the government, no son of a sultan was ever either to succeed, or even to be elected sultan; so that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the world, to be born of a prince was a certain and unalterable exclusion from the kingdom; and none was ever to be chosen sultan that had not been actually sold for a slave, brought from Circassia, and trained up a private soldier in the Mamaluc bands. Yet of so base metal were formed several men who made mighty figures in their age; and no nation made so brave a resistance against the growing empire of the Turks, as these Mamalucs did under their sultans, till they were conquered by Selim, after a long war, which looked in story like the combat of some fierce tiger with a savage boar, while the country that is wasted by them are lookers on, and little concerned under whose dominion and cruelty they fall.

It is not well agreed among authors whether the Turks were first called into Asia by the Greek or the Persian emperors; but it is by all, that, falling down in great numbers, they revolted from the

assistance of their friends, set up for themselves, embraced the Mahometan religion, and improved the principles of that sect; by new orders and inventions, (cast wholly for conquest and extent of empire) they framed a kingdom, which, under the Ottoman race, subdued both the Greek empire, and that of the Arabians, and rooted itself in all those vast dominions, as it continues to this day, with the addition of many other provinces to their kingdom, but yet many more to the Mahometan belief. So this empire of the Turks, like a fresh graft upon one branch of a vigorous stock, covered wholly upon that which it was grafted, and outgrew, in time, the other which was natural, as the Persian branch.

The chief principles upon which this fierce government was founded, and raised to such a height, were first those of Mahomet; already deduced, which, by their sensual paradise and predestination, were great incentives of courage and of enterprise, joined to the spoils of the conquered, both in their lands, their goods, and their liberties, which were all seized at the pleasure of the conqueror.

A second was a belief infused of divine designation of the Ottoman line to reign among them, for extent of their territories, and propagation of their faith: this made him esteemed, at least by adoption, as a successor of Mahomet, and both a sovereign lawgiver in civil, and, with the assistance of his mufti, a supreme judge in all religious matters: and this principle was so far improved among these people, that they held obedience to be given in all things to the will of their Ottoman

prince, as to the will of God, by whom they thought him designed; and that they were bound not only to obey his commands with any hazard of their lives against enemies, but even by laying down their own whenever he commanded, and with the same resignation that is by others thought due to the decrees of destiny, or the will and pleasure of Almighty God: this gives such an abandoned submission to all the frequent and cruel executions among them by the emperor's command, though upon the mere turns of his own humour, the suggestions of the ministers, or the flatteries and revenges of those women he most trusteth, or loveth best.

A third was the division of all lands in conquered countries into timariots, or soldiers' shares, besides what was reserved and appropriated to the emperor; and these shares being only at pleasure, or for life, leave him the sole lord of all lands in his dominion, which, by the common supposition of power following land, must, by consequence, leave him the most absolute of any sovereign in the world.

A fourth, the allowance of no honours nor charges, no more than lands, to be hereditary, but all to depend upon the will of the prince. This applies every man's ambition and avarice to court his present humour, serve his present designs, and obey his commands, of how different nature soever they are, and how frequently changed.

A fifth was the suppression, and, in a manner, extinction, of all learning, among the subjects of their whole empire, at least the natural Turks and Janizaries, in whom the strength of it consists.

This ignorance makes way for the most blind obedience, which is often shaken by disputes concerning religion and government, liberty and dominion, and other arguments of that or some such nature.

A sixth was the institution of that famous order of the Janizaries, than which a greater strain of true and deep politic will hardly be observed in any constitution. This consisted in the arbitrary choice of such Christian children, throughout their dominions, as were esteemed most fit for the emperor's peculiar service; and the choice was made by the shows or promises of the greatest growth or strength of body, vigour of constitution, and boldness of courage; these were taken into the emperor's care, and trained up in certain colleges or chambers, as they are called, and by officers for that purpose, who endeavoured to improve, all they could, the advantages of nature by those of education and of discipline. They were all diligently instructed in the Mahometan religion, and in the veneration of the Ottoman race. Such of them as proved weak of body, slothful, or pusillanimous, were turned to labour in gardens, buildings, or drudgeries of the palace; but all that were fit for military service, were, at a certain age, entered into the body of Janizaries, who were the emperor's guards.

By this means, the number of Christians was continually lessened throughout the empire, and weakened by the loss of such as were like to prove the bravest and strongest of their races: that of Mussulmans was increased in the same proportions; and a mighty body of chosen men kept up perpe-

tually in discipline and pay, who esteemed themselves not only as subjects or slaves, but even pupils and domestic servants of the grand signor's person and family.

A seventh was the great temperance introduced into the general customs of the Turks, but more particularly of the Janizaries, by the severe defence and abstinence of wine, and by the provision of one only sort of food for their armies, which was rice: of this grain, as every man is able to carry, upon occasion, enough for several days, so the quantity provided for every expedition is but according to the number, with no distinction for the quality of men; so that, upon a march, or in a camp, a colonel has no more allowed him than a private soldier: nor are any but general officers encumbered with train or baggage; which gives them mighty advantages in their German wars, among whom every officer has a family in proportion to his command during the *campania*, as well as in his quarters; and the very soldiers used to carry their wives with them into the field: whereas a Turkish army consists only of fighting men.

The last I shall mention, is the speediness as well as severity of their justice, both civil and military; which, though often subject thereby to mistakes, and deplored by the complaints and calamities of innocent persons—yet it is maintained upon this principle fixed among them, "That it is better two innocent men should die, than one guilty live:" and this indeed agrees with the whole cast or frame of their empire, which seems to have been, in all points, the fiercest, as that of the Yncas was

the gentlest, that of China the wisest, and that of the Goths the bravest, in the world.

The growth and progress of this Turkish empire, under the Ottoman race, was so sudden and so violent, the two or three first centuries, that it raised fear and wonder throughout the world; but seems at a stand for these last hundred years, having made no conquest since that of Hungary, except the remainder of Candia, after a very long war so bravely maintained by the small Venetian state against so mighty powers. The reason of this may be drawn not only from the periods of empire, that, like natural bodies, grow for a certain time, and to a certain size, which they are not to exceed; but from some other causes, both within and without, which seem obvious enough.

The first, a neglect in the observance of some of these orders, which were essential to the constitutions of their government. For after the conquests of Cyprus, and the example of Selim's intemperance in those and other wines, that custom and humour prevailed against their laws of abstinence, in that point so severely enjoined by Mahomet, and so long observed among all his followers: and though the Turks and Janizaries endeavoured to avoid the scandal and punishment by drinking in private, yet they felt the effects in their bodies and in their humours, whereof the last needs no inflaming among such hot tempers; and their bodies are weakened by this intemperance, joined to their abandoned luxury in point of women.

Besides, the institution of Janizaries has been much altered by the corruption of officers, who

have long suffered the Christians to buy off that tribute of their children, and the Turks to purchase the preferment of theirs into that order for money; by which means the choice of this militia is not made from the strongest and most warlike bodies of men, but from the purses of the parents or friends.

These two distempers have produced another, much greater and more fatal than both, which is the mutinous humour of this body of Janizaries; who, finding their own strength, began to make what changes they pleased in the state; till having been long flushed with the blood of the bashas and viziers, they made bold at last with that of their princes themselves; and having deposed and strangled Ibrahim, they set up his son, the present emperor, then a child. But the distemper ended not there: they fell into new factions; changed and murdered several viziers; and divided into so powerful parties, and with so fierce contentions, that the Bassa of Aleppo, with an army of a hundred thousand men, set up for himself, (though under pretence of a counterfeit son of Morat) and caused such a convulsion in this mighty state, that the Ottoman race had ended, if this bold adventurer had not, upon confidence in the faith of a treaty, been surprised and strangled by order of old Cuperly, then newly come to be grand vizier, and absolute in the government. This man, entering the ministry at fourscore years old, cruel by nature, and hardened by age—to allay the heat of blood in that distempered body of the Janizaries, and the other troops—cut off near forty thousand of them in three

years' time, by private, sudden, and violent executions, without form of laws or trials, or hearing any sorts of pleas or defences: his son, succeeding in the place of grand vizier, found the empire so dispirited by his father's cruelty, and the militia remaining so spited and distempered, breathing new commotions and revenges, that he diverted the humour by an easy war upon the Venetians, Transylvanians, or the remainders of Hungary, till by temper and conduct he had closed the wounds which his father had left bleeding, and restored the strength of the Ottoman empire to that degree, that the succeeding vizier invaded Germany, though against the faith of treaties, or of a truce not expired, and at last besieged Vienna, which is a story too fresh and too known to be told here.

Another reason has been the neglect of their marine affairs, or of their former greatness at sea; so as, for many years, they hardly pretend to any successes on that element; but commonly say, that God has given the earth to the Mussulmans, and the sea to the Christians.

The last I shall observe, is the excessive use of opium, with which they seek to repair the want of wine, and to divert their melancholy reflections upon the ill condition of their fortunes and lives, ever uncertain, and depending upon the will or caprice of the grand signor's, or of the grand vizier's humour and commands: but the effect of this opium is very transitory; and, though it allays, for the present, all melancholy fumes and thoughts, yet, when the operation is past, they return again, which makes the use of it so often

repeated; and nothing more dispirits and enervates both the body and the mind of those that frequently use it.

The external reason of the stand made this last century in the growth of the Turkish empire, seems to have been their having before extended it till they came to such strong bars as were not to be broken; for they were grown to border upon the Persian empire to the east, upon the Tartars to the north, upon the Æthiopians to the south, and upon the German empire to the west; and turned their prospect this way, as the easiest and most plausible, being against a Christian state.

Now this empire of Germany, consisting of such large territories, such numbers and bodies of warlike men, when united in any common cause or quarrel, seems as strongly constituted for defence, as the Turkish is for invasion or conquest: for being composed of many civil and moderate governments, under legal princes, or free states, the subjects are all fond of their liberties and laws, and abhor the falling under any foreign or arbitrary dominions, and in such a common cause seem to be invincible. On the contrary, the Turkish territories, being all enslaved, and thereby in a manner desolated, have no force but that of their standing armies; and their people in general care not either for the progress of their victories abroad, nor even for the defence of their own countries; since they are sure to lose nothing, but may hope reasonably to gain by any change of master or of government; which makes that empire the worst constituted that

can be for defence, upon any great misfortune to their armies.

The effect of these two different constitutions had been seen and felt, in all probability, to the wonder of the whole world, in these late revolutions, if the divine decrees had not crossed all human appearances: for the grand vizier might certainly have taken Vienna before the confederate princes could have united for its relief, if the opinion of vast treasures (there assembled for shelter from all the adjacent parts) had not given him a passionate desire to take the town by composition rather than by storm, which must have left all its wealth a prey to the soldiers, and not to the general.

If the Turks had possessed this bulwark of Christendom, I do not conceive what could have hindered them from being masters immediately of Austria, and all its depending provinces; nor, in another year, of all Italy, or of the southern provinces of Germany, as they should have chosen to carry on their invasion; or of both in two or three years' time: and how fatal this might have been to the rest of Christendom, or how it might have enlarged the Turkish dominions, is easy to conjecture.

On the other side, after the defeat of the grand vizier's army, his death, and that of so many brave bashas and other captains, by the usual humour and faction of that bloody court; after such slaughters of the Janizaries, in so many encounters, and such an universal discouragement

of their troops, that could no where withstand the German arms and bravery; if, upon the taking of Belgrade, the emperor had been at the head of the forces then in his service, united under one great commander, and without dependence upon the several princes by whom they were raised—I do not see what could have hindered them from conquering all before them in that open country of Bulgaria and Romania, nor from taking Constantinople itself, upon the course of an easy war, in such a decline of the Turkish empire, with so weak and dispirited troops as those that remained, a treasure so exhausted, a court so divided, and such a general consternation as appeared in that great and tumultuous city upon these occasions.

But God Almighty had not decreed any so great revolution, either for the ruin or advantage of Christendom, and seems to have left both empires at a bay, and not likely to make any great enterprises on either side; but rather to fall into the designs of a peace, which may probably leave Hungary to the possession as well as right of the house of Austria; and the Turks in a condition of giving no great fears or dangers, in our age, to the rest of Christendom.

Although the Mahometan empires were not raised, like others, upon the foundations or by the force of heroic virtue, but rather by the practices of a subtle man, upon the simplicity of credulous people; yet the growth of them has been influenced by several princes, in whom some beams at least of that sun have shined; such as Almanzor, Saladin, Ottoman, and Solyman the Great; and,

because I have named the most heroic persons of that sect, it will be but justice to nobler nations, to mention, at the same time, those who appear to have shined the brightest in their several ages or countries, and the lustre of whose virtues, as well as greatness, has been sullied with the fewest noted blemishes or defaults; and who, for deserving well of their own countries by their actions, and of mankind by their examples, have eternized their memories in the true records of fame, which is ever just to the dead, how partial soever it may be to the living, from the forced applauses of power, or fulsome adulations of servile men.

Such as these were, among the ancient Grecians, Epaminoudas, Pericles, and Agesilaus; of the old Roman state, the first Scipio, Marcellus, and Paulus Æmilius; of the Roman emperors, Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus; among the Goths, Alaric and Theodoric; of the Western emperors, Charlemain, Frederic Barbarossa, and Charles V; of the French nation, Pharamond, Charles Martel, and Henry IV. who began three of their noblest races; of the Swedes, Gustavus Adolphus; and of our own, Richard I. the Black Prince, and Harry V. To these I may add seven famous captains, or smaller princes, whose exploits and virtues may justly allow them to be ranked with so great kings and emperors. Ætius and Bellisarius, the two last great commanders of the Roman armies, after the division and decay of that mighty state, who did set up the last trophies, and made the bravest defences against the numbers and fury of those barbarous nations that in-

vaded, and, after their time, tore in pieces that whole empire. George Castriot, commonly called Scanderbeg, prince of Epire; and Huniades, viceroy of Hungaria; who were two most victorious captains and excellent men, the true champions of Christendom whilst they lived, and terror of the Turks; who, with small forces, held at bay, for so many years, all the powers of the Ottoman empire. Ferdinand Gonzalvo, that noble Spaniard, worthily surnamed the Great Captain; who, by his sole prowess and conduct, conquered a crown for his master which he might have worn for himself, if his ambition had been equal to his courage and virtues. William, prince of Orange, who restored the Belgic liberties, and was the founder of their state; esteemed generally the best and wisest commander of his age; and who, at the sudden point of his death, as well as in the course of his life, gave such testimonies of his being a true lover of the people and country he governed. Alexander Fernese, prince of Parma, who, by his wisdom, courage, and justice, recovered ten of the seventeen provinces, that were in a manner lost to the crown of Spain; made two famous expeditions for relief of his confederates into the heart of France, and seemed to revive the ancient Roman virtue and discipline in the world, and to bring the noble genius of Italy to appear once more upon the stage.

Whoever has a mind to trace the paths of heroic virtue, which lead to the temple of true honour and fame, need seek them no farther than in the stories and examples of those illustrious persons

here assembled: and so I leave this crown of never-fading laurel, in full view of such great and noble spirits as shall deserve it, in this or in succeeding ages. Let them win it, and wear it.

SECTION VI.

Upon the survey of all the great actions and revolutions, occasioned in the world by the conquest and progresses of these four mighty empires, as well as the other four, so much renowned in story, it may not be impertinent to reflect upon the causes of conquests as well as the effects, and deduce them from their natural sources, as far as they can be discovered; though, like those of great rivers, they are usually obscure, or taken little notice of, until their streams, increasing by the influence of many others, make so mighty inundations, as to grow famous in the stories as well as maps of the world.

To this end, I shall observe three things upon the general course of conquests, the most renowned and best recorded, in what remains of ancient as well as modern histories.

First, that they have generally proceeded from north to south; so as we find none, besides those of the Saracens, that can be said to have sailed the contrary course; and those were animated by another spirit, which was the Mahometan persuasion of predestination, that made them careless of their lives, and thereby fearless of dangers. For all the rest, they have run the course before-mentioned;

unless we should admit the traditions, rather than relations, of the conquests of Sesostris, who is reported by the ancients to have subdued all, from Egypt to the river Tanais: but this we may not allow for truth; because it must have preceded the reign of Ninus, and so disagree with the chronology of Holy Scripture; and therefore it must be exploded for fabulous, with other relics of ancient story; as the Scythians having subdued and possessed Asia so many hundred years before the empire of Ninus, and their wives having given so ancient a beginning to the famous kingdom of the Amazons, whereof some remnants only are said to have remained in Alexander's time; yet the fame was then believed, of their having anciently extended their dominion over all the Lesser Asia, as well as Armenia, and of their having founded the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus, which is the more probable, from that appellation of Taurica that was anciently given her.

But the great conquests, recorded and undisputed in story, have been of the Assyrians southwards, as far as Arabia and India; of the Persians, from the Caspian sea, to the utmost extent of the preceding empire, and of Egypt; of the Macedonians over Greece, and all the bounds of the Persian kingdom; of the Romans over the Greek empire as far as Parthia eastward, and over Sicily, Spain, and Afric to the south, before the progress of their arms towards the north-west; of the Tartars over all China and India; and of the Goths, and other northern nations, over all the more southern provinces of Europe.

The second observation I shall make upon the subject of victory and conquest, is, that they have generally been made by the smaller numbers over the greater; against which I do not remember any exception in all the famous battles registered in story, excepting that of Tamerlane and Bajazet, whereof the first is said to have exceeded about a fourth part in number, though they were so vast on both sides, that they were not very easy to be well accounted. For the rest, the number of the Persians with Cyrus were small to those of the Assyrians: those of the Macedonians were, in no battle against the Persians, above forty thousand men, though sometimes against three, four, or six hundred thousand. The Athenian army little exceeded ten thousand; and fighting for the liberties of their country, beat above sixscore thousand Persians at Marathon. The Lacedæmonians, in all the famous exploits of that state, never had above twelve thousand Spartans in the field at a time, and seldom above twenty thousand men with their allies.* The Romans ever fought with smaller against greater numbers, unless in the battles of Cannæ and Thrasimene, which were the only famous ones they lost against foreign enemies; and Cæsar's army at Pharsalia, as well as in Gaul and Germany, were in no proportion to those he conquered. That of Marius was not above forty thousand against three hundred thousand Cimbers. The famous victories of Ætius and Bellisarius,

* And yet they are recorded never to have asked how many their enemies were, but only where they were.

against the barbarous northern nations, were with mighty disproportion of numbers, as likewise the first victories of the Turks upon the Persian kingdom; of the Tartars upon the Chineses: and Scanderbeg never saw together above sixteen thousand men, in all the renowned victories he achieved against the Turks, though in numbers sometimes above a hundred thousand.

To descend to later times, the English victories so renowned, at Cressy, Poitiers, and Agencourt, were gained with disadvantages of numbers out of all proportion. The great achievements of Charles VIII. in Italy, of Henry IV. in France, and of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, were ever performed with smaller against greater numbers. In this age, and among all the exploits that have so justly raised the reputation and honour of Monsieur Turenne, for the greatest captain of his time, I do not remember any of them were achieved without disadvantage of number: and the late defeat of the Turks at the siege of Vienna, which saved Christendom, and has eternized the name of the duke of Lorrain, was too fresh and great an example of this assertion, to need any more, or leave it in dispute.

From these two principles of conquest, having proceeded from the north to the south, and by smaller over greater numbers, we may conclude that they may be attributed to the constitutions of men's bodies who compose the armies that achieve them, or to the dispositions of their minds: the first of these may be either native or habituate, and the latter may be either natural or infused. It is without question, the northern bodies are

greater and stronger than the southern, and also more healthy and more vigorous; the reason whereof is obvious to every man's conjecture, both from the common effects of air upon appetites and digestion, and from the roughness of the soil, which forces them upon labour and hardship. Now the true original greatness of any kingdom or nation may be accounted by the number of strong and able bodies of their native subjects: this is the natural strength of government; all the rest is art, discipline, or institution.

The next ingredient into the composition of conquering forces is fearlessness of mind, whether it be occasioned by the temper of the climate, or race of which men are born, or by custom, which inures men to be insensible of danger, or by passions or opinions that are raised in them; for they may all have the same effect: we see the very beasts and birds of some countries, as well as the men, are naturally fearless: we see long service in armies, or at sea, makes men insensible of dangers: we see the love of liberty, desire of revenge, and defence of their country or prince, renders them careless of life. The very confidence of victory, either from former and frequent successes, from the esteem and opinion of their commanders, or from the scorn of their enemies, makes armies victorious; but chiefly, the firm and rooted opinions of reward or punishment attending another world, and of obtaining the one, or avoiding the other, by dying, or conquering in the quarrel they are engaged in; and these are the great sources of victory and fortune in arms; for, let the numbers be what they

will, that army is ever beaten where the fright first enters. Few battles were lost of old, but none since the use of gunpowder, by the greatness of downright slaughter, before an army runs; and the noise and smoke of guns both increases fear, and covers shame, more than the ancient use of arms; so that, since those of fire came in, battles have been usually shorter and less bloody than before.

If it be true, (which I think will not be denied either by soldiers or reasonable men) that the battle is lost where the fright first enters, then the reason will appear why victory has generally followed the smaller numbers; because, in a body composed of more parts, it may sooner enter upon one, than in that which consists of fewer, as likelier to find ten wise men together than a hundred, and a hundred fearless men than a thousand: and those, who were the smaller forces, endeavour most to supply that defect by the choice, discipline, and bravery of their troops; and, where the fright once enters an army, the greater the number, the greater the disorder, and thereby the loss of the battle more certain and sudden.

From all this I conclude, that the composition of victorious armies, and the great true ground of conquest, consists first in the choice of the strongest, ablest, and hardiest bodies of men; next, in the exactness of discipline, by which they are inured to labour and dangers, and to fear their commanders more than their enemies; and lastly, in the spirit given them by love of their country or their prince, by impressions of honour or religion, to render them

fearless of death, and so incapable, or at least, very difficult, to receive any fright, or break thereby into disorder: and I question not, but any brave prince or general, at the head of forty thousand men, who would certainly stand their ground, and sooner die than leave it, might fight any number of forces that can be drawn together in any field: for, besides that a greater number may fall sooner into fright and disorder, perhaps a greater can hardly be drawn into the action of one day's battle, whereas, very few, in late ages, have lasted half that time.

The last remark I shall make upon this subject is, that the conquering nations have generally been those who placed the strength of their arms in their foot, and not in their horse, which have never, till these later years, been esteemed capable of breaking a firm body of foot; nor does their force seem to consist in other advantage, besides that of giving terror upon the fury of their first charge. Nor is this opinion less grounded upon reason than experience; for, besides that men are firmer upon their own feet than those of their horses, and less in danger of falling into disorder, which may come from want of discipline or courage in the horses as well as their riders; it is hard to imagine, that spurs in the sides of horses should have more effect or force to make them advance upon a charge, than pikes, swords, or javelins in their noses and breasts to make them keep off, fall back, or break their ranks, and run into disorder.

For the experience, nothing has been more known in all ages, or more undisputed: the battle of Ma-

rathon was gained by ten thousand foot, against mighty numbers of Persian horses as well as foot. The famous retreat of Xenophon, for such a length of country and of time, was made at the head of ten thousand Greeks, in the face of forty thousand Persian horse; nor had the Greeks above a hundred or six-score horse in their camp, which they made use of only to forage, or pursue the Persian horse, when they fled in disorder from the points of their pikes and javelins. The Macedonian foot, and afterwards the Macedonian phalanx, were impenetrable by all the Persian horse that ever encountered them. The Roman legions consisted each of six thousand foot and three hundred horse, which was all the proportion they ever had in their victorious armies, that could not be broken by the vast numbers of Spanish, Numidian, or Persian and Armenian horse they were so often engaged with. The force of the Gothic nations consisted in their foot; and of the Turkish and Ottoman empire in their Janizaries. The noble conquests of the English in France were made all by their foot; and during that period of time, when the crown of Spain made so great a figure in Europe, it was all by the force and bravery of their Spanish and Italian foot.

There seem to be but two exceptions against this rule; which are, the ancient greatness of the Persians, and modern of the French, whose chief force have been esteemed to consist in their horse: but the Persian empire was raised by the conquests of the Eastern nations, whose armies consisted chiefly in horse, and one against the other, (the best carried

it) till they came to deal with the Grecian foot, after which they were ever beaten: for the French armies, though the bravery of their cavalry has been great and noble, as made up of so numerous a gentry in that kingdom; yet one chief strength of their troops must be allowed, for the several late reigns, to have lain in their bands of Switzers; and in this present reign, mareschal Turenne must be acknowledged to have made way for his master's greatness, by improving the bodies of French foot with force of choice and discipline, beyond what they had ever been thought capable of before his time.

I shall end this remark with an adventure I remember to have read in the stories of the dukes of Milan. One of them, having routed a great army of his enemies, was enraged to find a body of Switzers make still a firm stand against all his victorious troops: he endeavoured to break them by a desperate charge of some squadrons of his *gens d'armes*, who were all armed, as well as the heads and breasts of their horses, and so proof, as he thought, against the Switzers' pikes: but all this effort proved in vain, till at length the duke commanded three or four hundred of them to alight from their horses, and armed as they were, to fall in upon the Switzers with their swords: they did it so desperately, some catching hold of the heads of their pikes, others cutting them in pieces with their broad swords, that they at last made way for themselves and other troops that followed them, and broke this body of brave Switzers, which had been impenetrable by any horse that could charge them: and this seems

an evident testimony, that the impressions of horse upon foot are made by terror rather than force; and where that first enters, the action is soon decided.

After all that has been said of conquerors or conquests, this must be confessed to hold but the second rank in the pretensions to heroic virtue, and that the first has been allowed to the wise institution of just orders and laws, which frame safe and happy governments in the world. The designs and effects of conquests are but the slaughter and ruin of mankind, the ravaging of countries, and defacing the world: those of wise and just governments are preserving and increasing the lives and generations of men, securing their possessions, encouraging their endeavours, and by peace and riches improving and adorning the several scenes of the world.

So the institutions of Moses leave him a diviner character than the victories of Joshua: those of Belus, Osiris, and Janus, than the prowess of Ninus, Cyrus, and Sesostris: and if, among the ancients, some men have been esteemed heroes, by the brave achievements of great conquests and victories, it has been by the wise institution of laws and government, that others have been honoured and adored as gods.



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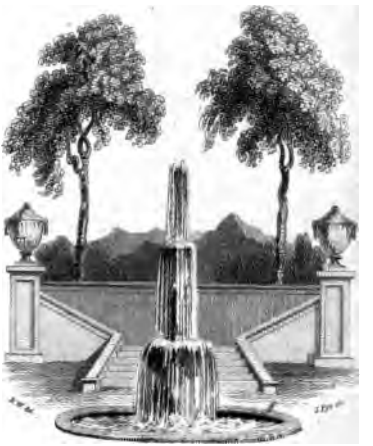
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SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S

ESSAYS.

IV.

OF POETRY.

THE two common shrines to which most men offer up the application of their thoughts and their lives, are profit and pleasure; and by their devotions to either of these, they are vulgarly distinguished into two sects, and called either busy or idle men: whether these terms differ in meaning, or only in sound, I know very well, may be disputed, and with appearance enough; since the covetous man takes perhaps as much pleasure in his gains, as the voluptuous does in his luxury, and would not pursue his business, unless he were pleased with it, upon the last account of what he most wishes and desires; nor would care for the increase of his fortunes, unless he thereby proposed that of his pleasures too, in one kind or other; so that pleasure may be said to be his end, whether he will allow to find it in his pursuit or no. Much ado there has been, many

words spent, or (to speak with more respect to the ancient philosophers) many disputes have been raised upon this argument, I think, to little purpose, and that all has been rather an exercise of wit, than an inquiry after truth: and all controversies that can never end, had better perhaps never begin. The best is to take words as they are most commonly spoken and meant, like coin, as it most currently passes, without raising scruples upon the weight of the allay, unless the cheat or the defect be gross and evident. Few things in the world, or none, will bear too much refining: a thread too fine spun will easily break, and the point of a needle too finely filed. The usual acceptation takes profit and pleasure for two different things, and not only calls the followers or votaries of them by several names of busy and of idle men, but distinguishes the faculties of the mind that are conversant about them, calling the operations of the first Wisdom, and of the other Wit, which is a Saxon word, that is used to express what the Spaniards and Italians call *ingenio*, and the French *esprit*, both from the Latin; but I think wit more peculiarly signifies that of poetry, as may occur upon remarks of the Runic language. To the first of these are attributed the inventions or productions of things generally esteemed the most necessary, useful, or profitable to human life, either in private possessions or public institutions; to the other, those writings or discourses which are the most pleasing or entertaining to all that read or hear them: yet, according to the opinion of those that link them together—as the inventions of sages and lawgivers themselves do please as well as profit those who approve and follow them—so those of

poets instruct and profit, as well as please, such as are conversant in them; and the happy mixture of both these makes the excellency in both those compositions, and has given occasion for esteeming, or at least for calling heroic virtue and poetry divine.

The names given to poets, both in Greek and Latin, express the same opinion of them in those nations; the Greek signifying makers or creators, such as raise admirable frames and fabrics out of nothing, which strike with wonder and with pleasure the eyes and imaginations of those who behold them; the Latin makes the same word common to poets and to prophets. Now, as creation is the first attribute and highest operation of divine power, so is prophecy the greatest emanation of divine spirit in the world. As the names in those two learned languages, so the causes of poetry are, by the writers of them, said to be divine, and to proceed from a celestial fire, or divine inspiration; and, by the vulgar opinions, recited, or related to, in many passages of those authors, the effects of poetry were likewise thought divine and supernatural, and power of charms and enchantments were ascribed to it.

> Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere Lunam;
> Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssis;
> Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.

But I can easily admire poetry, and yet without adoring it; I can allow it to arise from the greatest excellency of natural temper, or the greatest race of native genius, without exceeding the reach

of what is human, or giving it any approaches of divinity, which is, I doubt, debased or dishonoured, by ascribing to it any thing that is in the compass of our action, or even comprehension, unless it be raised by an immediate influence from itself. I cannot allow poetry to be more divine in its effects than in its causes, nor any operation produced by it to be more than purely natural, or to deserve any other sort of wonder than those of music, or of natural magic, however any of them have appeared to minds little versed in the speculations of nature, of occult qualities, and the force of numbers or of sounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the moon from heaven, by force of verses or of charms, either believes not himself, or too easily believes what others told him; or perhaps follows an opinion begun by the practice of some poet, upon the facility of some people; who, knowing the time when an eclipse would happen, told them he would by his charms call down the moon at such an hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that charming description, in Virgil's eighth eclogue, of all sorts of charms and fascinations by verses, by images, by knots, by numbers, by fire, by herbs, employed upon occasion of a violent passion, from a jealous or disappointed love, I have recourse to the strong impressions of fables and of poetry, to the easy mistakes of popular opinions, to the force of imagination, to the secret virtues of several herbs, and to the powers of sounds: and I am sorry the natural history, or account of fascination, has not employed the pen of some person of such excellent wit and deep thought and learning as Casaubon, who writ that curious

and useful treatise of Enthusiasm, and by it discovered the hidden or mistaken sources of that delusion, so frequent in all regions and religions of the world, and which had so fatally spread over our country in that age in which this treatise was so seasonably published. It is much to be lamented, that he lived not to complete that work in the second part he promised; or that his friends neglected the publishing of it, if it were left in papers, though loose and unfinished. I think a clear account of enthusiasm and fascination, from their natural causes, would very much deserve from mankind in general, as well as from the commonwealth of learning; might perhaps prevent so many public disorders, and save the lives of many innocent, deluded, or deluding people, who suffer so frequently upon account of witches and wizards: I have seen many miserable examples of this kind in my youth at home; and, though the humour or fashion be a good deal worn out of the world within thirty or forty years past, yet it still remains in several remote parts of Germany, Sweden, and some other countries.

But, to return to the charms of poetry: if the forsaken lover, in that eclogue of Virgil, had expected only, from the force of her verses, or her charms, what is the burden of the song, to bring Daphnis home from the town where he was gone, and engaged in a new amour; if she had pretended only to revive an old fainting flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his breast; she might, for aught I know, have compassed such ends by the power of such charms, and without any other than very natural enchantments: for there

is no question but true poetry may have the force to raise passions and to allay them, to change and to extinguish them, to temper joy and grief, to raise love and fear; nay, to turn fear into boldness, and love into indifference, and into hatred itself: and I easily believe that the disheartened Spartans were new animated, and recovered their lost courage, by the songs of Tyrtæus; that the cruelty and revenge of Phalaris were changed by the odes of Stesichorus into the greatest kindness and esteem; and that many men were as passionately enamoured by the charms of Sappho's wit and poetry, as by those of beauty in Flora or Thais; for it is not only beauty gives love, but love gives beauty to the object that raises it; and, if the possession be strong enough, let it come from what it will, there is always beauty enough in the person that gives it: nor is it any great wonder that such force should be found in poetry; since in it are assembled all the powers of eloquence, of music, and of picture, which are allowed to make so strong impressions upon human minds. How far men have been affected with all, or any of these, needs little proof or testimony: the examples have been known enough in Greece and in Italy, where some have fallen downright in love with the ravishing beauties of a lovely object, drawn by the skill of an admirable painter; nay, painters themselves have fallen in love with some of their own productions, and doted on them as on a mistress or a fond child; which distinguishes, among the Italians, the several pieces that are done by the same hand, into several degrees of those made, *con studio*, *con diligenza*, or *con amore*, whereof the last are ever the most

excelling. But there needs no more instances of this kind than the stories related and believed by the best authors as known and undisputed; of the two young Grecians, one whereof ventured his life to be locked up all night in the temple, and satisfy his passion with the embraces and enjoyment of a statue of Venus that was there set up, and designed for another sort of adoration; the other pined away and died, for being hindered his perpetually gazing, admiring, and embracing a statue at Athens.

The powers of music are either felt or known by all men, and are allowed to work strangely upon the mind and the body, the passions and the blood; to raise joy and grief; to give pleasure and pain; to cure diseases, and the mortal sting of the tarantula; to give motions to the feet, as well as the heart; to compose disturbed thoughts; to assist and heighten devotion itself. We need no recourse to the fables of Orpheus or Amphion, or the force of their music upon fishes and beasts; it is enough that we find the charming of serpents, and the cure or allay of an evil spirit or possession, attributed to it in sacred writ.

For the force of eloquence, that so often raised and appeased the violence of popular commotions, and caused such convulsions in the Athenian state, no man need more, to make him acknowledge it, than to consider Cæsar, one of the greatest and wisest of mortal men, come upon the tribunal full of hatred and revenge, and with a determined resolution to condemn Labienus; yet, upon the force of Cicero's eloquence, (in an oration for his defence)

began to change countenance, turn pale, shake to that degree, that the papers he held fell out of his hand, as if he had been frighted with words, that never was so with blows; and at last change all his anger into clemency, and acquit the brave criminal, instead of condemning him.

Now, if the strength of these three mighty powers be united in poetry, we need not wonder that such virtues and such honours have been attributed to it; that it has been thought to be inspired, or has been called divine; and yet I think it will not be disputed, that the force of wit and of reasoning, the height of conceptions and expressions, may be found in poetry as well as in oratory, the life and spirit of representation or picture as much as in painting, and the force of sounds as well as in music; and how far these three natural powers together may extend, and to what effect, (even such as may be mistaken for supernatural or magical) I leave it to such men to consider, whose thoughts turn to such speculations as these, or who, by their native temper and genius, are, in some degree, disposed, or receive the impressions of them. For my part, I do not wonder, that the famous Dr. Harvey, when he was reading Virgil, should sometimes throw him down upon the table, and say he had a devil; nor that the learned Meric Casaubon should find such charming pleasures and emotions, as he describes, upon the reading some parts of Lucretius; that so many should cry, and with downright tears, at some tragedies of Shakspeare; and so many more should feel such turns or curdling of their blood, upon the reading or hearing of

some excellent pieces of poetry; nor that Octavia fell into a swoon, at the recital made by Virgil of those verses in the sixth of his Æneids.

This is enough to assert the powers of poetry, and discover the ground of those opinions of old, which derived it from divine inspirations, and gave it so great a share in the supposed effects of sorcery and magic: but, as the old romances seem to lessen the honour of true prowess and valour in their knights, by giving such a part, in all their chief adventures, to enchantment; so the true excellency and just esteem of poetry seems rather debased than exalted by the stories or belief of the charms performed by it, which, among the northern nations, grew so strong and so general, that about five or six hundred years ago, all the Runic poetry came to be decried, and those ancient characters, in which they were written, to be abolished by the zeal of bishops, and even by orders and decrees of state; which has given a great maim, or rather an irrecoverable loss, to the story of those northern kingdoms, the seat of our ancestors in all the western parts of Europe.

The more true and natural source of poetry may be discovered, by observing to what god this inspiration was ascribed by the ancients, which was Apollo, or the sun, esteemed among them the god of learning in general, but more particularly of music and of poetry. The mystery of this fable means, I suppose, that a certain noble and vital heat of temper, but especially of the brain, is the true spring of these two parts or sciences: this was that celestial fire, which gave such a pleasing motion and agitation to the minds of those men, that

have been so much admired in the world, that raises such infinite images of things so agreeable and delightful to mankind: by the influence of this sun, are produced those golden and inexhausted mines of invention, which has furnished the world with treasures so highly esteemed, and so universally known and used, in all the regions that have yet been discovered: from this arises that elevation of genius, which can never be produced by any art or study, by pains or by industry; which cannot be taught by precepts or examples; and, therefore, is agreed by all, to be the pure and free gift of Heaven or of nature, and to be a fire kindled out of some hidden spark of the very first conception.

But, though invention be the mother of poetry, yet this child is, like all others, born naked, and must be nourished with care, clothed with exactness and elegance, educated with industry, instructed with art, improved by application, corrected with severity, and accomplished with labour and with time, before it arrives at any great perfection or growth: it is certain that no composition requires so many several ingredients, or of more different sorts, than this; not that to excel in any qualities, there are necessary so many gifts of nature, and so many improvements of learning and of art: for there must be an universal genius, of great compass, as well as great elevation: there must be a sprightly imagination or fancy, fertile in a thousand productions, ranging over infinite ground, piercing into every corner, and, by the light of that true poetical fire, discovering a thousand little bodies or images in the world, and similitudes

among them, unseen to common eyes, and which could not be discovered without the rays of that sun.

Besides the heat of invention, and liveliness of wit, there must be the coldness of good sense, and soundness of judgment, to distinguish between things and conceptions, which, at first sight, or upon short glances, seem alike; to choose among infinite productions of wit and fancy, which are worth preserving and cultivating, and which are better stifled in the birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the forces of wit, all poetry is flat and languishing; without the succours of judgment, it is wild and extravagant. The true wit of poesy is, that such contraries must meet to compose it—a genius both penetrating and solid; in expression both delicacy and force; and the frame or fabric of a true poem must have something both sublime and just, amazing and agreeable: there must be a great agitation of mind to invent, a great calm to judge and correct; there must be, upon the same tree, and at the same time, both flower and fruit. To work up this metal into exquisite figure, there must be employed the fire, the hammer, the chisel, and the file; there must be a general knowledge both of nature and of arts; and, to go the lowest that can be, there are required genius, judgment, and application; for, without this last, all the rest will not serve turn, and none ever was a great poet that applied himself much to any thing else.

When I speak of poetry, I mean not an ode or an elegy, a song or a satire; nor by a poet, the composer of any of these—but of a just poem; and, after all I have said, it is no wonder there should

be so few that appeared in any parts or any ages of the world, or that such as have should be so much admired, and have almost divinity ascribed to them and to their works.

Whatever has been among those, who are mentioned with so much praise or admiration by the ancients, but are lost to us, and unknown any farther than their names—I think no man has been so bold among those that remain to question the title of Homer and Virgil, not only to the first rank, but to the supreme dominion in this state, and from whom, as the great lawgivers, as well as princes, all the laws and orders of it are or may be derived. Homer was, without dispute, the most universal genius that has been known in the world, and Virgil the most accomplished: to the first must be allowed the most fertile invention, the richest vein, the most general knowledge, and the most lively expression; to the last, the noblest ideas, the justest institution, the wisest conduct, and the choicest elocution. To speak in the painter's terms, we find, in the works of Homer, the most spirit, force, and life; in those of Virgil, the best design, the truest proportions, and the greatest grace: the colouring in both seems equal, and indeed is in both admirable: Homer had more fire and rapture; Virgil more light and swiftness; or at least, the poetical fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the first more amazing, and the latter more agreeable: the ore was richer in one, but in the other more refined, and better allayed to make up excellent work. Upon the whole, I think it must be confessed, that Homer was, of the two, and perhaps of all others, the vastest, the sublimest, and the most wonderful genius; and that

he has been generally so esteemed, there cannot be a greater testimony given, than what has been by some observed, that not only the greatest masters have found in his works the best and truest principles of all their sciences or arts, but that the noblest nations have derived from them the original of their several races, though it be hardly yet agreed, whether his story be true or a fiction. In short, these two immortal poets must be allowed to have so much excelled in their kinds, as to have exceeded all comparison, to have even extinguished emulation, and in a manner confined true poetry, not only to their two languages, but to their very persons: and I am apt to believe so much of the true genius of poetry in general, and of its elevation in these two particulars; that I know not, whether of all the numbers of mankind that live within the compass of a thousand years, for one man that is born capable of making such a poet as Homer or Virgil, there may not be a thousand born capable of making as great generals of armies, or ministers of state, as any the most renowned in story.

I do not here intend to make a farther critic upon poetry, which were too great a labour; nor to give rules for it, which were as great a presumption: besides, there has been so much paper blotted upon these subjects, in this curious and censuring age, that it is all grown tedious or repetition. The modern French wits, or pretenders, have been very severe in their censures, and exact in their rules, I think to very little purpose; for I know not, why they might not have contented themselves with those given by Aristotle and Horace, and have translated them rather than commented upon them;

for all they have done has been no more; so as they seem, by their writings of this kind, rather to have valued themselves, than improved any body else. The truth is, there is something in the genius of poetry too libertine to be confined to so many rules: and whoever goes about to subject it to such constraints, loses both its spirit and grace, which are ever native, and never learned, even of the best masters: it is as if, to make excellent honey, you should cut off the wings of your bees, confine them to their hive or their stands, and lay flowers before them, such as you think the sweetest, and like to yield the finest extraction; you had as good pull out their stings, and make arrant drones of them. They must range through fields as well as gardens, choose such flowers as they please, and by properties and scents they only know and distinguish: they must work up their cells with admirable art, extract their honey with infinite labour, and sever it from the wax with such distinction and choice, as belongs to none but themselves to perform or to judge.

It would be too much mortification to these great arbitrary rulers among the French writers, or our own, to observe the worthy productions that have been formed by their rules, the honour they have received in the world, or the pleasure they have given mankind; but, to comfort them, I do not know there was any great poet in Greece, after the rules of that art laid down by Aristotle; nor in Rome, after those by Horace, which yet none of our moderns pretend to have outdone: perhaps Theocritus and Lucan may be alleged against this assertion; but the first offered no farther than at

idyls or eclogues; and the last, though he must be avowed for a true and happy genius, and to have made some very high flights; yet he is so unequal to himself, and his Muse is so young, that his faults are too noted, to allow his pretences. *Feliciter audet*, is the true character of Lucan; as of Ovid, *Lusit amabiliter*. After all, the utmost that can be achieved, or I think pretended, by any rules in this art, is but to hinder some men from being very ill poets, but not to make any man a very good one: to judge who is so, we need go no farther for instruction than three lines of Horace:

> —— Ille meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
> Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
> Ut magus, et modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.

He is a poet,

> Who vainly anguishes my breast,
> Provokes, allays, and with false terror fills,
> Like a magician, and now sets me down
> In Thebes, and now in Athens.

Whoever does not affect and move the same present passions in you, that he represents in others, and at other times raise images about you, as a conjurer is said to do spirits, transports you to the places and to the persons he describes—cannot be judged to be a poet, though his measures are never so just, his feet never so smooth, or his sounds never so sweet: but instead of critic, or rules concerning poetry, I shall rather turn my thoughts to the history of it, and observe the antiquity, the

uses, the changes, the decays, that have attended this great empire of wit.

It is, I think, generally agreed, to have been the first sort of writing that has been used in the world; and in several nations to have preceded the very invention or usage of letters: this last is certain in America, where the first Spaniards met with many strains of poetry, and left several of them translated into their language, which seems to have flowed from a true poetic vein, before any letters were known in those regions. The same is probable of the Scythians, the Grecians, and the Germans. Aristotle says, the Agathyrsi had their laws all in verse; and Tacitus, that the Germans had no annals nor records but what were so; and, for the Grecian oracles delivered in them, we have no certain accounts when they began, but rather reason to believe it was before the introduction of letters from Phœnicia among them. Pliny tells it, as a thing known, that Pherecydes was the first who writ prose in the Greek tongue, and that he lived about the time of Cyrus; whereas Homer and Hesiod lived some hundreds of years before that age, and Orpheus, Linus, Musæus, some hundreds before them: and of the Sibyls, several were before any of those, and in times as well as places, whereof we have no clear records now remaining. What Solon and Pythagoras writ, is said to have been in verse, who were something older than Cyrus; and before them were Archilochus, Simonides, Tyrtæus, Sappho, Stesichorus, and several other poets famous in their times. The same thing is reported of Chaldea, Syria, and China, among the ancient western

Goths, our ancestors: the Runic poetry seems to have been as old as their letters; and their laws, their precepts of wisdom, as well as their records, their religious rites, as well as their charms and incantations, to have been all in verse.

Among the Hebrews, and even in sacred writ, the most ancient is by some learned men esteemed to be the book of Job, and that it was written before the times of Moses, and that it was a translation into Hebrew out of the old Chaldean or Arabian language. It may probably be conjectured that he was not a Jew, from the place of his abode, which appears to have been seated between the Chaldeans of one side, and the Sabeans, (who were of Arabia) on the other; and, by many passages of that admirable and truly inspired poem, the author seems to have lived in some parts near the mouth of Euphrates, or the Persian Gulph, where he contemplated the wonders of the deep, as well as the other works of nature common to those regions: nor is it easy to find any traces of the Mosaical rites or institutions, either in the divine worship, or the morals related to in those writings: for not only sacrifices and praises were much more ancient in religious service than the age of Moses; but the opinion of one Deity, and adored without any idol or representation, was professed and received among the ancient Persians and Hetruscans and Chaldeans: so that if Job was an Hebrew, it is probable he may have been of the race of Heber, who lived in Chaldea; or of Abraham, who is supposed to have left that country for the profession or worship of one God; rather than from the branch of Isaac and Israel, who lived in the land of Canaan.

Now, I think it is out of controversy, that the book of Job was written originally in verse, and was a poem upon the subject of the justice and power of God, and in vindication of his providence, against the common arguments of atheistical men, who took occasion to dispute it from the usual events of human things, by which so many ill and impious men seem happy and prosperous in the course of their lives, and so many pious and just men seem miserable or afflicted. The Spanish translation of the Jews in Ferrara, which pretends to render the Hebrew, (as near as could be) word for word, and for which all translators of the Bible since have had great regard—gives us the two first chapters and the last, from the seventh verse in prose, as an historical introduction and conclusion of the work, and all the rest in verse, except the transitions from one part or person of this sacred dialogue to another.

But if we take the books of Moses to be the most ancient in the Hebrew tongue, yet the song of Moses may probably have been written before the rest, as that of Deborah before the book of Judges; being praises sung to God upon the victories or successes of the Israelites, related in both: and I never read the last, without observing in it as true and noble strains of poetry and picture, as in any other language whatsoever, in spite of all disadvantages from translations into so different tongues and common prose. If an opinion of some learned men, both modern and ancient, could be allowed, that Esdras was the writer or compiler of the first historical parts of the Old Testament, though from the same divine inspiration as that of Moses and the other

prophets; then the Psalms of David would be the first writings we find in Hebrew, and next to them the Song of Solomon, which was written when he was young, and Ecclesiastes when he was old: so that, from all sides, both sacred and profane, it appears that poetry was the first sort of writing known and used in the several nations of the world.

It may seem strange, I confess, upon the first thought, that a sort of style, so regular and so difficult, should have grown in use before the other, so easy and so loose: but if we consider what the first end of writing was, it will appear probable from reason as well as experience; for the true and general end was but the help of memory, in preserving that of words and of actions, which would otherwise have been lost, and soon vanish away with the transitory passage of human breath and life. Before the discourses and disputes of philosophers began to busy or amuse the Grecian wits, there was nothing written in prose but either laws, some short sayings of wise men, or some riddles, parables, or fables, wherein were couched by the ancients many strains of natural and moral wisdom and knowledge, and, besides these, some short memorials of persons, actions, and of times.

Now it is obvious enough to conceive, how much easier all such writings should be learnt and remembered in verse than in prose, not only by the pleasure of measures and of sounds, which gives a great impression to memory, but by the order of feet, which makes a great facility of tracing one word after another, by knowing what sort of foot

or quantity must necessarily have preceded or followed the words we retain and desire to make up.

This made poetry so necessary before letters were invented, and so convenient afterwards; and shows, that the great honour and general request wherein it has always been, has not proceeded only from the pleasure and delight, but likewise from the usefulness and profit, of poetical writings.

This leads me naturally to the subjects of poetry, which have been generally praise, instruction, story, love, grief, and reproach. Praise was the subject of all the songs and psalms mentioned in holy writ; of the hymns of Orpheus, of Homer, and many others; of the Carmina Secularia in Rome, composed all and designed for the honour of their gods; of Pindar, Stesichorus, and Tyrtæus, in the praises of virtue, or virtuous men. The subject of Job is instruction concerning the attributes of God, and the works of nature; those of Simonides, Phocylides, Theognis, and several other of the smaller Greek poets, with what passes for Pythagoras's, are instructions in morality; the first book of Hesiod, and Virgil's Georgics, in agriculture; and Lucretius, in the deepest natural philosophy. Story is the proper subject of heroic poems; as Homer and Virgil, in their inimitable Iliads and Æneids; and fable, which is a sort of story, in the Metamorphosis of Ovid. The Lyric poetry has been chiefly conversant about love, though turned often upon praise too; and the vein of pastorals and eclogues has run the same course, as may be observed in Theocritus, Virgil, and Horace, who was, I think, the first and last of true lyric poets among the

Latins: grief has been always the subject of elegy, and reproach that of satire. The dramatic poesy has been composed of all these; but the chief end seems to have been instruction; and under the disguise of fables, or the pleasure of story, to show the beauties and the rewards of virtue, the deformities, and misfortunes, or punishment of vice; by examples of both to encourage one, and deter men from the other; to reform ill customs, correct ill manners, and moderate all violent passions. These are the general subjects of both parts, though comedy give us but the images of common life, and tragedy those of the greater and more extraordinary passions and actions among men. To go farther upon this subject, would be to tread so beaten paths, that to travel in them only raises dust, and is neither of pleasure nor of use.

For the changes that have happened in poetry, I shall observe one ancient, and the others that are modern which are too remarkable, in the declines or decays of this great empire of wit. The first change of poetry was made by translating it into prose, or clothing it in those loose robes or common veils, that disguised or covered the true beauty of its features, and exactness of its shape: this was done first by Æsop in Greek; but the vein was much more ancient in the Eastern regions; and much in vogue, as we may observe in the many parables used in the Old Testament, as well as in the New: and there is a book of fables of the sort of Æsop's, translated out of Persian, and pretended to have been so, into that language out of the ancient Indian: but though it seems genuine of the Eastern countries, yet I do not take it to be so old, nor to

have so much spirit, as the Greek. The next succession of poetry in prose seems to have been in the Milesian tales, which were a sort of little pastoral romances; and though much in request in old Greece and Rome, yet we have no examples, that I know, of them, unless it be the Longi Pastoralia, which gives a taste of the great delicacy and pleasure that was found so generally in those sort of tales. The last kind of poetry, in prose, is that which, in later ages, has overrun the world under the name of romances; which, though it seems modern, and a production of the Gothic genius, yet the writing is ancient: the remainders of Petronius Arbiter seem to be of this kind, and that which Lucian calls his True History: but the most ancient that passes by the name, is Heliodorus, famous for the author's choosing to lose his bishopric, rather than disown that child of his wit. The true spirit or vein of ancient poetry in this kind seems to shine most in sir Philip Sidney, whom I esteem both the greatest poet, and the noblest genius of any that have left writings behind them, and published in ours or any other modern language; a person born capable, not only of forming the greatest ideas, but of leaving the noblest examples, if the length of his life had been equal to the excellence of his wit and virtues.

With him I leave the discourse of ancient poetry; and to discover the decays of this empire, must turn to that of the modern, which was introduced after the decays, or rather extinction, of the old; as if, true poetry being dead, an apparition of it walked about. This mighty change arrived by no smaller occasions, nor more ignoble revolutions, than those

which destroyed the ancient empire and government of Rome, and erected so many new ones upon their ruins, by the invasions and conquests, or the general inundations of the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous or Northern nations, upon those parts of Europe that had been subject to the Romans. After the conquests made by Cæsar upon Gaul and the nearer parts of Germany, which were continued and enlarged in the times of Augustus and Tiberius, by their lieutenants or generals; great numbers of Germans and Gauls resorted to the Roman armies, and to the city itself, and habituated themselves there, as many Spaniards, Syrians, Grecians, had done before, upon the conquest of those countries: this mixture soon corrupted the purity of the Latin tongue; so that in Lucan, but more in Seneca, we find a great and harsh allay entered into the style of the Augustan age. After Trajan and Adrian had subdued many German and Scythian nations on both sides of the Danube, the commerce of those barbarous people grew very frequent with the Romans; and I am apt to think, that the little verses ascribed to Adrian were in imitation of the Runic poetry. The *Scythicas pati pruinas* of Florus shows their race or climate; and the first rhyme that ever I read in Latin, with little allusions of letters or syllables, is in that of Adrian at his death:

O animula, vagula, blandula,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca
Pallidula, lurida, timidula,
Nec ut soles dabis joca!

It is probable, the old spirit of poetry being lost or frighted away by those long and bloody wars with such barbarous enemies, this new ghost began to appear in its room even about that age; or else that Adrian, who affected that piece of learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old vein, turned to a new one, which his expeditions into those countries made more allowable in an emperor; and his example recommended it to others. In the time of Boëtius, who lived under Theodoric in Rome, we find the Latin poetry smell rank of this Gothic imitation, and the vein quite seared up.

After that age, learning grew every day more and more obscured by that cloud of ignorance, with the numbers and successes of those barbarous people, which at length overshaded all Europe for so long together. The Roman tongue began itself to fail, or be disused, and by its corruption made way for the generation of three new languages in Spain, Italy, and France. The courts of the princes and nobles, who were of the conquering nations, for several ages used their Gothic, or Franc, or Saxon tongues, which were mingled with those of Germany, where some of the Goths had sojourned long before they proceeded to their conquests of the more southern or western parts. Wherever the Roman colonies had long remained, and their language had been generally spoken, the common people used that still, but vitiated with the base allay of their provincial speech: this, in Charlemain's time, was called in France, Rustica Romana, and in Spain, during the Gothic reigns there, Romance; but in

England, from whence all the Roman soldiers, and great numbers of the Britons most accustomed to their commerce and language, had been drained for the defence of Gaul against the barbarous nations that invaded it about the time of Valentinian, that tongue being wholly extinguished, (as well as their own) made way for the entire use of the Saxon language. With these changes, the ancient poetry was wholly lost in all these countries, and a new sort grew up by degrees, which was called by a new name of *Rhymes*, with an easy change of the Gothic word *Runis*, and not from the Greek *Rythmes*, as is vulgarly supposed.

Runes was properly the name of the ancient Gothic letters, or characters, which were invented first or introduced by Odin, in the colony or kingdom of the Getes or Goths, which he planted in the north-west parts, and round the Baltic sea, as has been been before related: but, because all the writings they had among them for many ages were in verse, it came to be the common name of all sorts of poetry among the Goths, and the writers or composers of them were called *Runers* or *Rymers*. They had likewise another name for them, or for some sorts of them, which was *Viises* or *Wises*; and because the sages of that nation expressed the best of their thoughts, and what learning and prudence they had in these kind of writings, they that succeeded best and with most applause were termed wise men; the good sense, or learning, or useful knowledge contained in them was called wisdom; and the pleasant or facetious vein among them was called wit; which was applied to all spirit or race

of poetry, where it was found in any man, and was generally pleasing to those that heard or read them.

Of these Runes there was in use among the Goths above a hundred several sorts, some composed in longer, some in shorter lines, some equal, and others unequal, with many different cadences, quantities, or feet, which in the pronouncing made many different sorts of original, or natural tunes. Some were framed with allusions of words, or consonance of syllables or of letters; either in the same line, or in the distich; or by alternate succession and resemblance, which made a sort of jingle that pleased the ruder ears of that people; and because their language was composed most of monosyllables, and of so great numbers, many must end in the same sound. Another sort of Runes were made, with the care and study of ending two lines, or each other of four lines, with words of the same sound; which being the easiest, requiring less art, and needing less spirit, (because a certain chime in the sounds supplied that want, and pleased common ears) this in time grew the most general among all the Gothic colonies in Europe, and made rhymes, or Runes, pass for the modern poetry in these parts of the world.

This was not used only in their modern languages; but, during those ignorant ages, even in that barbarous Latin which remained, and was preserved among the monks and priests, to distinguish them by some show of learning from the laity, who might well admire it, in what degree soever, and reverence the professors, when they themselves could neither write nor read, even in their own language;

I mean not only the vulgar laymen, but even the generality of nobles, barons, and princes among them; and this lasted till the ancient learning and languages began to be restored in Europe about two hundred years ago.

The common vein of the Gothic Runes was what is termed Dithyrambic, and was of a raving or rambling sort of wit or invention; loose and flowing, with little art or confinement to any certain measures or rules; yet some of it wanted not the true spirit of poetry in some degree, or that natural inspiration which has been said to arise from some spark of poetical fire wherewith particular men are born; and, such as it was, it served the turn, not only to please, but even to charm the ignorant and barbarous vulgar, where it was in use. This made the Runers, among the Goths, as much in request and admired, as any of the ancient and most celebrated poets were among the learned nations; for among the blind, he that has one eye is a prince. They were, as well as the others, thought inspired, and the charms of their Runic conceptions were generally esteemed divine, or magical at least.

The subjects of them were various, but commonly the same with those already observed in the true ancient poetry. Yet this vein was chiefly employed upon the records of bold and martial actions, and the praises of valiant men that had fought successfully or died bravely; and these songs or ballads were usually sung at feasts, or in circles of young or idle persons, and served to inflame the humour of war, of slaughter, and of spoils among them. More refined honour or love had lit-

tle part in the writings, because it had little in the lives or actions of those fierce people and bloody times: honour among them consisted in victory, and love in rapes and in lust.

But as the true flame of poetry was rare among them, and the rest was but wild-fire that sparkled, or rather crackled awhile, and soon went out with little pleasure or gazing of the beholders; those Runers, who could not raise admiration by the spirit of their poetry, endeavoured to do it by another, which was that of enchantments: this came in to supply the defects of that sublime and marvellous, which has been found both in poetry and prose among the learned ancients. The Gothic Runers, to gain and establish the credit and admiration of their rhymes, turned the use of them very much to incantations and charms, pretending by them to raise storms, to calm the seas, to cause terror in their enemies, to transport themselves in the air, to conjure spirits, to cure diseases, and staunch bleeding wounds, to make women kind or easy, and men hard or invulnerable, as one of their most ancient Runers affirms of himself and his own achievements, by force of these magical charms: the men or women, who were thought to perform such wonders or enchantments, were, from *Vises*, or *Wises*, the name of those verses wherein their charms were conceived, called *wizards* or *witches*.

Out of this quarry seem to have been raised all those trophies of enchantment that appear in the whole fabric of the old Spanish romances, which were the productions of the Gothic wit among them during their reign; and after the conquests

of Spain by the Saracens, they were applied to the long wars between them and the Christians. From the same, perhaps, may be derived all the visionary tribe of fairies, elves, and goblins, of sprites, and bullbeggars; that serve not only to fright children into whatever their nurses please, but sometimes, by lasting impressions, to disquiet the sleeps and the very lives of men and women, till they grow to years of discretion; and that, God knows, is a period of time which some people arrive to but very late; and, perhaps, others never. At least, this belief prevailed so far among the Goths and their races, that all sorts of charms were not only attributed to their Runes, or verses, but to their very characters; so that, about the eleventh century, they were forbidden and abolished in Sweden, as they had been before in Spain, by civil and ecclesiastical commands or constitutions; and what has been since recovered of that learning or language, has been fetched as far as Iceland itself.

How much of this kind, and of this credulity, remained even to our own age, may be observed by any man that reflects so far as thirty or forty years. How often avouched, and how generally credited, were the stories of fairies, sprites, witchcrafts, and enchantments! In some parts of France, and not longer ago, the common people believed certainly there were Longaroos, or men turned into wolves; and I remember several Irish of the same mind. The remainders are woven into our very language. Mara, in old Runic, was a goblin that seized upon men asleep in their beds, and took from them all speech and motion: Old Nicka was a sprite that came to strangle people who fell into the water;

Bo was a fierce Gothic captain, son of Odin, whose name was used by his soldiers when they would fright or surprise their enemies; and the proverb of rhyming rats to death, came, I suppose, from the same root.

There were, not longer since than the time I have mentioned, some remainders of the Runic poetry among the Irish. The great men of their Scepts, among the many officers of their family, which continued always in the same races, had not only a physician, a huntsman, a smith, and such like, but a poet and a tale-teller: the first recorded and sung the actions of their ancestors, and entertained the company at feasts; the latter amused them with tales when they were melancholy, and could not sleep: and a very gallant gentleman of the north of Ireland has told me, of his own experience, that, in his wolf-huntings there, when he used to be abroad in the mountains three or four days together, and lay very ill a-nights, so as he could not well sleep—they would bring him one of these tale-tellers, that, when he lay down, would begin a story of a king, or a giant, a dwarf and a damsel, and such rambling stuff, and continue it all night long in such an even tone, that you heard it going on whenever you awaked; and he believed nothing any physicians give could have so good and so innocent effect, to make men sleep in any pains or distempers of body or mind. I remember, in my youth, some persons of our country to have said grace in rhymes, and others their constant prayers; and it is vulgar enough that some deeds or conveyances of land have been so since the Conquest.

In such poor wretched weeds as these was poetry clothed, during those shades of ignorance that overspread all Europe for so many ages after the sun-set of the Roman learning and empire together, which were succeeded by so many new dominions, or plantations of the Gothic swarms, and by a new face of customs, habit, language, and almost of nature; but upon the dawn of a new day, and the resurrection of other sciences, with the two learned languages, among us, this of poetry began to appear very early, though very unlike itself, and in shapes as well as clothes, in humour and in spirit, very different from the ancient: it was now all in rhyme, after the Gothic fashion; for indeed none of the several dialects of that language or allay would bear the composure of such feet and measures as were in use among the Greeks and Latins; and some that attempted it soon left it off, despairing of success. Yet, in this new dress, poetry was not without some charms, especially those of grace and sweetness; and the ore began to shine in the hands and works of the first refiners. Petrarch, Ronsard, Spenser, met with much applause upon the subjects of love, praise, grief, reproach: Ariosto and Tasso entered boldly upon the scene of heroic poems; but, having not wings for so high flights, began to learn of the old ones; fell upon their imitations, and chiefly of Virgil, as far as the force of their genius, or disadvantages of new languages and customs, would allow. The religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the contexture of all the ancient poetry, with a very agreeable mixture; which made the moderns affect to give that of Christianity a place

also in their poems: but the true religion was not found to become fiction so well as a false had done, and all their attempts of this kind seemed rather to debase religion than to heighten poetry. Spenser endeavoured to supply this with morality; and to make instruction, instead of story, the subject of an epic poem: his execution was excellent, and his flights of fancy very noble and high; but his design was poor, and his moral lay so bare that it lost the effect: it is true, the pill was gilded; but so thin, that the colour and the taste were too easily discovered.

After these three, I know none of the moderns that have made any achievements in heroic poetry worth recording. The wits of the age soon left off such bold adventures, and turned to other veins; as if, not worthy to sit down at the feast, they contented themselves with the scraps; with songs and sonnets; with odes and elegies; with satires and panegyrics, and what we call copies of verses upon any subjects or occasions—wanting either genius or application for nobler or more laborious productions; as painters, that cannot succeed in great pieces, turn to miniature.

But the modern poets, to value this small coin, and make it pass, though of so much a baser metal than the old, gave it a new mixture from two veins which were little known or little esteemed among the ancients. There were, indeed, certain fairies in the old regions of poetry, called epigrams, which seldom reached above the stature of two, or four, or six lines, and which, being so short, were all turned upon conceit, or some sharp hits of fancy or wit. The only ancient of this kind

among the Latins, were the Priapeïa; which were little voluntaries or extemporaries, written upon the ridiculous wooden statues of Priapus, among the gardens of Rome. In the decays of the Roman learning and wit, as well as language, Martial, Ausonius, and others, fell into this vein, and applied it indifferently to all subjects, which was before restrained to one, and dressed it something more cleanly than it was born. This vein of conceit seemed proper for such scraps or splinters into which poetry was broken, and was so eagerly followed, as almost to overrun all that was composed in our several modern languages: the Italian, the French, the Spanish, as well as English, were for a great while full of nothing else but conceit; it was an ingredient that gave taste to compositions which had little of themselves; it was a sauce that gave point to meat that was flat, and some life to colours that were fading; and, in short, those who could not furnish spirit, supplied it with this salt, which may preserve things or bodies that are dead, but is, for aught I know, of little use to the living, or necessary to meats that have much or pleasing tastes of their own. However it were, this vein first overflowed our modern poetry, and with so little distinction or judgment, that we would have conceit as well as rhyme in every two lines, and run through all our long scribbles as well as the short, and the whole body of the poem, whatever it is: this was just as if a building should be nothing but ornament, or clothes nothing but trimming; as if a face should be covered over with black patches, or a gown with spangles; which is all I shall say of it.

Another vein which has entered, and helped to corrupt our modern poesy, is that of ridicule; as if nothing pleased but what made one laugh, which yet come from two very different affections of the mind; for, as men have no disposition to laugh at things they are most pleased with, so they are very little pleased with many things they laugh at.

But this mistake is very general; and such modern poets as found no better way of pleasing, thought they could not fail of it by ridiculing: this was encouraged by finding conversation run so much into the same vein, and the wits in vogue to take up with that part of it which was formerly left to those that were called fools, and were used in great families only to make the company laugh. What opinion the Romans had of this character, appears in those lines of Horace:

—— absentem qui rodit amicum;
Qui non defendit, alio culpante; solutos
Qui captat risus hominum, famamque dicacis;
Fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
Qui nequit—hic niger est; hunc, tu, Romane, caveto.

And it is pity the character of a wit in one age should be so like that of a black in another.

Rabelais seems to have been father of the ridicule; a man of excellent and universal learning, as well as wit: and though he had too much game given him for satire in that age, by the customs of courts and of convents, of processes and of wars, of schools and of camps, of romances and legends; yet he must be confessed to have kept up his vein of ridicule, by saying many things so malicious, so

smutty, and so profane, that either a prudent, a modest, or a pious man, could not have afforded, though he had never so much of that coin about him: and it were to be wished, that the wits who have followed his vein had not put too much value upon a dress that better understandings would not wear, (at least in public) and upon a compass they gave themselves, which other men would not take. The matchless writer of Don Quixote is much more to be admired, for having made up so excellent a composition of satire or ridicule, without those ingredients, and seems to be the best and highest strain that ever was or will be reached by that vein.

It began first in verse, with an Italian poem, called La Secchia Rapita; was pursued by Scarron in French, with his Virgil Travestie; and in English by sir John Mince, Hudibras, and Cotton, and with greater height of burlesque in the English than, I think, in any other language: but, let the execution be what it will, the design, the custom, and example, are very pernicious to poetry, and, indeed, to all virtue and good qualities among men, which must be disheartened, by finding how unjustly and undistinguished they fall under the lash of raillery, and this vein of ridiculing the good as well as the ill, the guilty and the innocent together. It is a very poor, though common pretence to merit, to make it appear by the faults of other men: a mean wit or beauty may pass in a room, where the rest of the company are allowed to have none: it is something to sparkle among diamonds; but to shine among pebbles is neither credit nor value worth the pretending.

Besides these two veins brought in to supply the defects of the modern poetry, much application has been made to the smoothness of language or style, which has at the best but the beauty of colouring in a picture, and can never make a good one, without spirit and strength. The academy set up by cardinal Richelieu, to amuse the wits of that age and country, and divert them from raking into his politics and ministry, brought this in vogue; and the French wits have, for this last age, been in a manner wholly turned to the refinement of their language, and indeed, with such success, that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their verse and their prose. The same vein has been likewise much cultivated in our modern English poetry; and by such poor recruits have the broken forces of this empire been of late made up—with what success, I leave to be judged by such as consider it in the former heights, and the present declines, both of power and of honour; but this will not discourage, however it may affect, the true lovers of this mistress, who must ever think her a beauty in rags as well as in robes.

Among these many decays, there is yet one sort of poetry that seems to have succeeded much better with our moderns than any of the rest, which is Dramatic, or that of the stage: in this the Italian, the Spanish, and the French, have all had their different merit, and received their just applauses: yet I am deceived, if our English has not, in some kind, excelled both the modern and the ancient; which has been by force of a vein, natural, perhaps, to our country, and which with us is called humour—a word peculiar to our language too, and

hard to be expressed in any other; nor is it, that I know of, found in any foreign writers, unless it be Moliere; and yet, his itself has too much of the farce to pass for the same with ours. Shakspeare was the first that opened this vein upon our stage, which has run so freely and so pleasantly ever since, that I have often wondered to find it appear so little upon any others, being a subject so proper for them; since humour is but a picture of particular life, as comedy is of general; and though it represents dispositions and customs less common, yet they are not less natural than those that are more frequent among men; for if humour itself be forced, it loses all the grace; which has been indeed the fault of some of our poets most celebrated in this kind.

It may seem a defect in the ancient stage, that the characters introduced were so few, and those so common; as a covetous old man, an amorous young, a witty wench, a crafty slave, a bragging soldier: the spectators met nothing upon the stage but what they met in the streets, and at every turn. All the variety is drawn only from different and uncommon events; whereas, if the characters are so too, the diversity and the pleasure must needs be the more: but, as of most general customs in a country, there is usually some ground from the nature of the people or the climate, so there may be amongst us for this vein of our stage, and a greater variety of humour in the picture, because there is a greater variety in the life. This may proceed from the native plenty of our soil, the unequalness of our climate, as well as the ease of our government, and the liberty of professing opinions

and factions, which perhaps our neighbours may have about them, but are forced to disguise, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguished. Plenty begets wantonness and pride; wantonness is apt to invent, and pride scorns to imitate; liberty begets stomach or heart, and stomach will not be constrained. Thus we come to have more originals, and more that appear what they are; we have more humour, because every man follows his own, and takes a pleasure, perhaps a pride, to show it.

On the contrary, where the people are generally poor, and forced to hard labour, their actions and lives are all of a piece; where they serve hard masters, they must follow his examples as well as commands, and are forced upon imitation in small matters, as well as obedience in great: so that some nations look as if they were cast all by one mould, or cut out all by one pattern, at least the common people in one, and the gentlemen in another: they seem all of a sort in their habits, their customs, and even their talk and conversation, as well as in the application and pursuit of their actions and their lives.

Besides all this, there is another sort of variety amongst us, which arises from our climate, and the dispositions it naturally produces. We are not only more unlike one another than any nation I know, but we are more unlike ourselves too at several times, and owe to our very air some ill qualities as well as many good. We may allow some distempers incident to our climate, since so much health, vigour, and length of life have been generally ascribed to it; for among the Greek and Roman authors themselves we shall find the Britons ob-

served to live the longest, and the Egyptians the shortest, of any nations that were known in those ages: besides, I think none will dispute the native courage of our men, and beauty of our women; which may be elsewhere as great in particulars, but no where so in general; they may be (what is said of diseases) as acute in other places, but with us they are epidemical. For my own part, who have conversed much with men of other nations, and such as have been both in great employments and esteem, I can say very impartially, that I have not observed, among any, so much true genius as among the English; no where more sharpness of wit, more pleasantness of humour, more range of fancy, more penetration of thought, or depth of reflection among the better sort; no where more goodness of nature and of meaning, nor more plainness of sense and of life, than among the common sort of country people; nor more blunt courage and honesty than among our seamen.

But, with all this, our country must be confessed to be, what a great foreign physician called it, the region of spleen; which may arise a good deal from the great uncertainty and many sudden changes of our weather in all seasons of the year: and how much these affect the heads and hearts, especially of the finest tempers, is hard to be believed by men whose thoughts are not turned to such speculations: this makes us unequal in our humours, inconstant in our passions, uncertain in our ends, and even in our desires. Besides, our different opinions in religion, and the factions they have raised or animated for fifty years past, have had an ill effect upon our manners and customs, inducing more

avarice, ambition, disguise, (with the usual consequences of them) than were before in our constitution. From all this it may happen, that there is no where more true zeal in the many different forms of devotion, and yet no where more knavery under the shows and pretences: there are no where so many disputers upon religion, so many reasoners upon government, so many refiners in politics, so many curious inquisitives, so many pretenders to business and state-employments, greater porers upon books, nor plodders after wealth; and yet no where more abandoned libertines, more refined luxurists, extravagant debauchees, conceited gallants, more dabblers in poetry as well as politics, in philosophy, and in chemistry. I have had several servants far gone in divinity, others in poetry; have known, in the families of some friends, a keeper deep in the Rosicrucian principles, and a laundress firm in those of Epicurus. What effects soever such a composition or medley of humours among us may have upon our lives or our government, it must needs have a good one upon our stage, and has given admirable play to our comical wits; so that, in my opinion, there is no vein of that sort, either ancient or modern, which excels, or equals the humour of our plays: and, for the rest, I cannot but observe, to the honour of our country, that the good qualities amongst us seem to be natural, and the ill ones more accidental, and such as would be easily changed by the examples of princes, and by the precepts of laws; such I mean, as should be designed to form manners, to restrain excesses, to encourage industry, to prevent men's expenses beyond their fortunes, to countenance vir-

tue, and raise that true esteem due to plain sense and common honesty.

But, to spin off this thread, which is already grown too long—what honour and request the ancient poetry has lived in, may not only be observed from the universal reception and use in all nations from China to Peru, from Scythia to Arabia, but from the esteem of the best and the greatest men, as well as the vulgar. Among the Hebrews, David and Solomon, the wisest kings; Job and Jeremiah, the holiest men, were the best poets of their nation and language. Among the Greeks, the two most renowned sages and lawgivers were Lycurgus and Solon, whereof the last is known to have excelled in poetry, and the first was so great a lover of it, that to his care and industry we are said, by some authors, to owe the collection and preservation of the loose and scattered pieces of Homer, in the order wherein they have since appeared. Alexander is reported neither to have travelled nor slept without those admirable poems always in his company. Phalaris, that was inexorable to all other enemies, relented at the charms of Stesichorus's Muse. Among the Romans, the last and great Scipio passed the soft hours of his life in the conversation of Terence, and was thought to have a part in the composition of his comedies. Cæsar was an excellent poet as well as orator, and composed a poem in his voyage from Rome to Spain, relieving the tedious difficulties of his march with the entertainments of his Muse. Augustus was not only a patron, but a friend and companion of Virgil and Horace, and was himself both an admirer of poetry, and a pretender too, as far as his genius would

reach, or his busy scene allow. It is true, since his age, we have few such examples of great princes favouring or affecting poetry, and as few, perhaps, of great poets deserving it. Whether it be that the fierceness of the Gothic humours, or noise of their perpetual wars, frighted it away, or that the unequal mixture of the modern languages would not bear it; certain it is, that the great heights and excellency both of poetry and music fell with the Roman learning and empire, and have never since recovered the admiration and applauses that before attended them. Yet, such as they are among us; they must be confessed to be the softest and sweetest, the most general and most innocent amusements, of common time and life. They still find room in the courts of princes, and the cottages of shepherds; they serve to revive and animate the dead calm of poor or idle lives, and to allay or divert the violent passions and perturbations of the greatest and the busiest men: and both these effects are of equal use to human life; for the mind of man is like the sea, which is neither agreeable to the beholder nor the voyager, in a calm or in a storm; but is so to both, when a little agitated by gentle gales; and so the mind, when moved by soft and easy passions and affections. I know very well, that many, who pretend to be wise by the forms of being grave, are apt to despise both poetry and music, as toys and trifles too light for the use or entertainment of serious men: but whoever find themselves wholly insensible to these charms, would, I think, do well to keep their own counsel, for fear of reproaching their own temper, and bringing the goodness of their natures, if not of

their understandings, into question: it may be thought at least an ill sign, if not an ill constitution; since some of the fathers went so far, as to esteem the love of music a sign of predestination; as a thing divine, and reserved for the felicities of heaven itself. While this world lasts, I doubt not but the pleasure and requests of these two entertainments will do so too; and happy those that content themselves with these, or any other so easy and so innocent; and do not trouble the world, or other men, because they cannot be quiet themselves, though nobody hurts them!

When all is done, human life is, at the greatest and the best, but like a froward child, that must be played with and humoured a little to keep it quiet, till it falls asleep, and then the care is over.

V.

AN ESSAY

UPON THE

ANCIENT AND MODERN LEARNING.*

——Juvat antiquos accedere fontes.

WHOEVER converses much among the old books will be something hard to please among the new; yet these must have their part too in the leisure of an idle man, and have many of them their beauties, as well as their defaults. Those of story, or rela-

* The second part of the *Miscellanea*, as first published, contained four essays,

I. Upon ancient and modern learning.
II. Upon the gardens of Epicurus.
III. Upon heroic virtue.
IV. Upon poetry.

This work was inscribed to the university of Cambridge in these words:—

ALMÆ MATRI
ACADEMIÆ
CANTABRIGIENSI,
HAS QUALESCUNQUE NUGAS,
AT REI LITERARIÆ NON ALIENAS,
D. D. D.q;
ALUMNUS OLIM,
ET SEMPER OBSERVANTISSIMUS,
W. TEMPLE.

tions of matter of fact, have a value from their substance as much as from their form; and the variety of events is seldom without entertainment or instruction, how indifferently soever the tale is told. Other sorts of writings have little of esteem, but what they receive from the wit, learning, or genius of the authors, and are seldom met with of any excellency, because they do but trace over the paths that have been beaten by the ancients, or comment, critique, and flourish upon them; and are, at best, but copies after those originals, unless upon subjects never touched by them; such as are all that relate to the different constitutions of religious laws or governments in several countries, with all matters of controversy that arise upon them.

Two pieces that have lately pleased me, (abstracted from any of these subjects) are, one in English upon the Antediluvian World; and another in French upon the Plurality of Worlds; one writ by a divine, and the other by a gentleman, but both very finely in their several kinds, and upon their several subjects, which would have made very poor work in common hands. I was so pleased with the last, (I mean the fashion of it, rather than the matter, which is old and beaten) that I inquired for what else I could of the same hand, till I met with a small piece concerning poesy, which gave me the same exception to both these authors, whom I should otherwise have been very partial to: for the first could not end his learned treatise without a panegyric of modern learning and knowledge in comparison of the ancient; and the other falls so grossly into the censure of the old poetry, and pre-

ference of the new, that I could not read either of these strains without some indignation, which no quality among men is so apt to raise in me as sufficiency, the worst composition out of the pride and ignorance of mankind. But these two being not the only persons of the age that defend these opinions, it may be worth examining, how far either reason or experience can be allowed to plead or determine in their favour.

The force of all that I have met with upon this subject, either in talk or writings, is, first, as to knowledge; that we must have more than the ancients, because we have the advantage both of theirs and our own; which is commonly illustrated by the similitude of a dwarf's standing upon a giant's shoulders, and seeing more or farther than he.—Next, as to wit or genius, that, nature being still the same, these must be much at a rate in all ages, at least in the same climates, as the growth and size of plants and animals commonly are; and if both these are allowed, they think the cause is gained: but I cannot tell why we should conclude, that the ancient writers had not as much advantage from the knowledge of others that were ancient to them, as we have from those that are ancient to us. The invention of printing has not, perhaps, multiplied books, but only the copies of them; and if we believe there were six hundred thousand in the library of Ptolemy, we shall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours; not, perhaps, by all put together; I mean so many originals, that have lived any time, and thereby given testimony of their having been thought worth preserving: for the scribblers are infinite, that, like mushrooms or flies, are

born and die in small circles of time; whereas books, like proverbs, receive their chief value from the stamp and esteem of ages through which they have passed. Besides the account of this library at Alexandria, and others very voluminous in the Lesser Asia and Rome, we have frequent mention of ancient writers in many of those books which we now call ancient, both philosophers and historians. It is true, that, besides what we have in Scripture concerning the original and progress of the Jewish nation, all that passed in the rest of our world, before the Trojan war, is either sunk in the depths of time, wrapped up in the mysteries of fables, or so maimed by the want of testimonies, and loss of authors, that it appears to us in too obscure a shade to make any judgment upon it: for the fragments of Manethon about the antiquities of Egypt; the relations in Justin concerning the Scythian empire; and many others, in Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, as well as the records of China, make such excursions beyond the periods of time given us by the holy Scriptures, that we are not allowed to reason upon them: and this disagreement itself, after so great a part of the world became Christian, may have contributed to the loss of many ancient authors: for Solomon tells us, even in his time, of writing many books there was no end; and whoever considers the subject, and the style of Job, which by many is thought more ancient than Moses, will hardly think it was written in an age or country that wanted either books or learning; and yet he speaks of the ancients then, and their wisdom, as we do now.

But if any should so very rashly and presumptu-

ously conclude, that there were few books before those we have either extant, or upon record; yet that cannot argue there was no knowledge or learning before those periods of time whereof they give us the short account. Books may be helps to learning and knowledge, and make it more common and diffused; but I doubt whether they are necessary ones or no; or much advance any other science, beyond the particular records of actions or registers of time: and these, perhaps, might be as long preserved without them, by the care and exactness of tradition in the long successions of certain races of men with whom they were intrusted. So in Mexico and Peru, before the least use or mention of letters, there was remaining among them the knowledge of what had passed in those mighty nations and governments for many ages; whereas in Ireland, that is said to have flourished in books and learning before they had much progress in Gaul or Britany; there are now hardly any traces left of what passed there before the conquest made of that country by the English, in Henry II's time: a strange but plain demonstration how knowledge and ignorance, as well as civility and barbarism, may succeed each other in the several countries of the world; how much better the records of time may be kept by tradition in one country, than by writing in another; and how much we owe to those learned languages of Greek and Latin, without which, for aught I know, the world, in all these western parts, would hardly be known to have been above five or six hundred years old, nor any certainty remain of what passed in it before that time.

It is true, in the Eastern regions, there seems to

have been a general custom of the priests, in each country, having been, either by their own choice, or by design of their governments, the perpetual observers of knowledge and story: only in China, this last was committed particularly to certain officers of state, who were appointed or continued, upon every accession to that crown, to register distinctly the times and memorable events of each reign. In Ethiopia, Egypt, Chaldea, Persia, Syria, Judea, these cares were committed wholly to the priests, who were not less diligent in the registers of times and actions, than in the study and successive propagation thereby of all natural science and philosophy. Whether this was managed by letters or tradition, or by both; it is certain, the ancient colleges, or societies of priests, were mighty reservoirs or lakes of knowledge, into which some streams entered, perhaps, every age, from the observations or inventions of any great spirits or transcendent geniuses, that happened to rise among them; and nothing was lost out of these stores, since the part of conserving what others have gained, either in knowledge or empire, is as common and easy, as the other is hard and rare among men.

In these soils were planted and cultivated those mighty growths of astronomy, astrology, magic, geometry, natural philosophy, and ancient story: from these sources, Orpheus, Homer, Lycurgus, Pythagoras, Plato, and others of the ancients, are acknowledged to have drawn all those depths of knowledge or learning, which have made them so renowned in all succeeding ages. I make a distinction between these two; taking knowledge to be

properly meant of things that are generally agreed to be true, by consent of those that first found them out, or have been since instructed in them; but learning is the knowledge of the different and contested opinions of men in former ages, and about which they have perhaps never agreed in any; and this makes so much of one, and so little of the other, in the world.

Now to judge whether the ancients or moderns can be probably thought to have made the greatest progress in the search and discoveries of the vast region of truth and nature, it will be worth inquiring, what guides have been used, and what labours employed, by the one and the other, in these noble travels and pursuits.

The modern scholars have their usual recourse to the universities of their countries; some few, it may be, to those of their neighbours—and this, in quest of books rather than men, for their guides, though these are living, and those, in comparison, but dead instructors; which, like a hand with an inscription, can point out the straight way upon the road, but can neither tell you the next turnings, resolve your doubts, or answer your questions, like a guide that has traced it over, and, perhaps, knows it as well as his chamber. And who are these dead guides we seek in our journey? They are, at best, but some few authors that remain among us, of a great many that wrote in Greek or Latin, from the age of Hippocrates to that of Marcus Antoninus, which reaches not much above six hundred years. Before that time, I know none, besides some poets, some fables, and some few epistles; and since that time, I know very few that can pretend to be

authors, rather than transcribers or commentators, of the ancient learning. Now to consider at what sources our ancients drew their water, and with what unwearied pains. It is evident, Thales and Pythagoras were the two founders of the Grecian philosophy; the first gave beginning to the Ionic sect, and the other to the Italic; out of which, all the others celebrated in Greece or Rome were derived or composed. Thales was the first of the Sophi, or wise men famous in Greece; and is said to have learned his astronomy, geometry, astrology, theology, in his travels from his country Miletus to Egypt, Phœnicia, Crete, and Delphos. Pythagoras was the father of philosophers, and of the virtues; having in modesty chosen the name of a lover of wisdom, rather than of wise; and having first introduced the names of the four cardinal virtues, and given them the place and rank they have held ever since in the world. Of these two mighty men remain no writings at all: for those golden verses that go under the name of Pythagoras, are generally rejected as spurious, like many other fragments of Sibyls, or old poets, and some entire poems that run with ancient names: nor is it agreed, whether he ever left any thing written to his scholars or contemporaries; or whether all that learned of him, did it not by the ear and memory; and all that remained of him, for some succeeding ages, were not by tradition. But, whether these ever writ or no, they were the fountains out of which the following Greek philosophers drew all those streams, that have since watered the studies of the learned world, and furnished the volumi-

nous writings of so many sects, as passed afterwards under the common name of philosophers.

As there were guides to those that we call ancients, so there were others that were guides to them, in whose search they travelled far and laboured long.

There is nothing more agreed, than that all the learning of the Greeks was deduced originally from Egypt or Phœnicia; but, whether theirs might not have flourished to that degree it did, by the commerce of the Ethiopians, Chaldeans, Arabians, and Indians, is not so evident; (though I am very apt to believe it) and to most of these regions some of the Grecians travelled, in search of those golden mines of learning and knowledge: not to mention the voyages of Orpheus, Musæus, Lycurgus, Thales, Solon, Democritus, Herodotus, Plato, and that vain sophist, Apollonius, (who was but an ape of the ancient philosophers) I shall only trace those of Pythagoras, who seems, of all others, to have gone the farthest upon this design, and to have brought home the greatest treasures. He went first to Egypt, where he spent two and twenty years in study and conversation, among the several colleges of priests, in Memphis, Thebes, and Heliopolis, was initiated in all their several mysteries, in order to gain admittance and instruction in the learning and sciences that were there in their highest ascendency: twelve years he spent in Babylon, and in the studies and learning of the priests or Magi of the Chaldeans. Besides these long abodes in those two regions, celebrated for ancient learning, and where one author, according to their

calculations, says, he gained the observations of innumerable ages, he travelled likewise upon the same scent into Ethiopia, Arabia, India, to Crete, to Delphos, and to all the oracles that were renowned in any of these regions.

What sort of mortals some of those may have been, that he went so far to seek, I shall only endeavour to trace out, by the most ancient accounts that are given of the Indian Brachmans; since those of the learned or sages, in the other countries, occur more frequent in story. These were all of one race or tribe, that was kept chaste from any other mixture, and were dedicated wholly to the service of the gods, to the studies of wisdom and nature, and to the counsel of their princes: there was not only particular care taken of their birth and nurture, but even from their conception: for when a woman among them was known to have conceived, much thought and diligence was employed about her diet and entertainments, so far as to furnish her with pleasant imaginations; to compose her mind and her sleeps, with the best temper, during the time she carried her burden. This I take to be a strain beyond all the Grecian wit, or the constitutions even of their imaginary lawgivers, who began their cares of mankind only after their birth, and none before: those of the Brachmans continued in the same degree for their education and instruction; in which, and their studies, and discipline of their colleges, or separate abodes in woods and fields, they spent thirty-seven years: their learning and institutions were unwritten; and only traditional among themselves, by a perpetual succession. Their opinions in natural philosophy

were, that the world was round; that it had a beginning, and would have an end, but reckoned both by immense periods of time; that the author of it was a Spirit, or a Mind, that pervaded the whole universe, and was diffused through all the parts of it: they held the transmigration of souls; and some used discourses of infernal mansions, in many things like those of Plato. Their moral philosophy consisted chiefly in preventing all diseases or distempers of the body, from which they esteemed the perturbation of mind, in a great measure, to arise; then, in composing the mind, and exempting it from all anxious cares; esteeming the troublesome and solicitous thoughts about past and future, to be like so many dreams, and no more to be regarded; they despised both life and death, pleasure and pain, or at least thought them perfectly indifferent: their justice was exact and exemplary; their temperance so great, that they lived upon rice or herbs, and upon nothing that had sensitive life; if they fell sick, they counted it such a mark of intemperance, that they would frequently die out of shame and sullenness; but many lived a hundred and fifty, and some two hundred years.

Their wisdom was so highly esteemed, that some of them were always employed to follow the courts of their kings, to advise them upon all occasions, and instruct them in justice and piety: and upon this regard, Calanus, and some others, are said to have followed the camp of Alexander, after his conquest of one of their kings. The magical operations reported of them, are so wonderful, that *they must* either be wholly disbelieved, or will

make easy way for the credit of all those that we so often meet with in the latter relations of the Indies: above all the rest, their fortitude was most admirable in their patience and endurance of all evils, of pain, and of death; some standing, sitting, lying, without any motion, whole days together in the scorching sun; others standing whole nights upon one leg, and holding up a heavy piece of wood or stone in both hands, without ever moving; which might be done, upon some sort of penances usual among them. They frequently ended their lives by their own choice, and not necessity, and most usually by fire; some upon sickness; others upon misfortunes; some upon mere satiety of life: so Calanus, in Alexander's time, burnt himself publicly, upon growing old and infirm; Zormanochages, in the time of Augustus, upon his constant health and felicity, and to prevent his living so long as to fall into diseases or misfortunes. These were the Brachmans of India, by the most ancient relations remaining of them; and which, compared with our modern, (since navigation and trade have discovered so much of those vast countries) make it easy to conjecture that the present Baniams have derived from them many of their customs and opinions, which are still very like them, after the course of two thousand years. For how long nations, without the changes introduced by conquest, may continue in the same customs, institutions, and opinions, will be easily observed, in the stories of the Peruvians and Mexicans, of the Chineses and Scythians; these last being described by Herodotus, to lodge always in carts, and to feed commonly upon the milk of mares, as the

Tartars are reported to do at this time, in many parts of those vast northern regions.

From these famous Indians, it seems to be most probable, that Pythagoras learned and transported into Greece and Italy the greatest part of his natural and moral philosophy, rather than from the Egyptians, as is commonly supposed: for I have not observed any mention of the transmigration of souls, held among the Egyptians, more ancient than the time of Pythagoras: on the contrary, Orpheus is said to have brought out of Egypt all his mystical theology, with the stories of the Stygian lake, Charon, the infernal judges; which were wrought up by the succeeding poets, (with a mixture of the Cretan tales, or traditions) into that part of the Pagan religion, so long observed by the Greeks and Romans. Now it is obvious, that this was in all parts very different from the Pythagorean opinion of transmigration; which, though it was preserved long among some of the succeeding philosophers, yet never entered into the vulgar belief of Greece or Italy.

Nor does it seem unlikely that the Egyptians themselves might have drawn much of their learning from the Indians; for they are observed, in some authors, to have done it from the Ethiopians; and chronologers, I think, agree, that these were a colony that came anciently from the river Indus, and planted themselves upon that part of Africa, which, from the name, was afterwards called Ethiopia; and, in all probability, brought their learning and their customs with them: the Phœnicians are likewise said to have been anciently a colony that came from the Red Sea, and planted

themselves upon the Mediterranean; and from thence spread so far the fame of their learning and their navigations.

To strengthen this conjecture, of much learning being derived from such remote and ancient fountains as the Indies, and perhaps China—it may be asserted, with great evidence, that though we know little of the antiquities of India, beyond Alexander's time, yet those of China are the oldest that any where pretend to any fair records; for these are agreed, by the missionary Jesuits, to extend so far above four thousand years, and with such appearance of clear and undeniable testimonies, that those religious men themselves, rather than question their truth, by finding them contrary to the vulgar chronology of the Scripture, are content to have recourse to that of the Septuagint, and thereby to solve the appearances in those records of the Chineses. Now, though we have been deprived of the knowledge of what course learning may have held, and to what heights it may have soared, in that vast region, and during so great antiquity of time, by reason of the savage ambition of one of their kings, who, desirous to begin the period of history from his own reign, ordered all books to be burnt, except those of physic and agriculture; so that what we have remaining besides, of that wise and ancient nation, is but what was, either by chance, or by private industry, rescued out of that public calamity; (among which were a copy of the records and successions of the crown) yet it is observable and agreed, that as the opinions of the learned among them are at present, so they were anciently divided into two sects, whereof one held the transmigration

of souls, and the other the eternity of matter, comparing the world to a great mass of metal, out of which some parts are continually made up into a thousand various figures, and, after certain periods, melted down again into the same mass; that there were many volumes written of old in natural philosophy among them; that, near the age of Socrates, lived their great and renowned Confucius, who began the same design of reclaiming men from the useless and endless speculations of nature to those of morality; but with this difference—that the bent of the Grecian seems to be chiefly upon the happiness of private men or families, but that of the Chinese upon the good temperament and felicity of such kingdoms or governments as that was, and is known to have continued for several thousands of years; and may be properly called a government of learned men, since no other are admitted into charges of the state.

For my own part, I am much inclined to believe, that in these remote regions, not only Pythagoras learned the first principles, both of his natural and moral philosophy: but that those of Democritus (who travelled into Egypt, Chaldea, and India, and whose doctrines were after improved by Epicurus) might have been derived from the same fountains; and that, long before them both, Lycurgus, who likewise travelled into India, brought from thence also the chief principles of his laws and politics, so much renowned in the world.

For whoever observes the account already given of the ancient Indian and Chinese learning and opinions, will easily find among them the seeds of *all* these Grecian productions and institutions; as

the transmigration of souls, and the four cardinal virtues; the long silence enjoined his scholars, and propagation of their doctrines by tradition rather than letters, and abstinence from all meats that had animal life, introduced by Pythagoras; the eternity of matter, with perpetual changes of form; the indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind, by Epicurus; and among those of Lycurgus, the care of education from the birth of children, the austere temperance of diet, the patient endurance of toil and pain, the neglect or contempt of life, the use of gold and silver only in their temples, the defence of commerce with strangers, and several others by him established among the Spartans, seem all to be wholly Indian, and different from any race or vein of thought or imagination, that have ever appeared in Greece, either in that age, or any since.

It may look like a paradox, to deduce learning from regions accounted commonly so barbarous and rude; and it is true, the generality of people were always so in those Eastern countries, and their lives wholly turned to agriculture, to mechanics, or to trades: but this does not hinder particular races or successions of men (the design of whose thought and time was turned wholly to learning and knowledge) from having been what they are represented, and what they deserve to be esteemed; since among the Gauls, the Goths, and the Peruvians themselves, there have been such races of men, under the name of Druids, Bards, Amautas, Runers, and other barbarous appellations.

Besides, I know no circumstances like to contribute more to the advancement of knowledge and

learning among men, than exact temper
their races, great pureness of air, and equ
climate; long tranquillity of empire or gover
and all these we may justly allow to those
regions, more than any others we are acq
with, at least till the conquest made by the
upon both India and China, in the latter ce
However, it may be as pardonable, to deri
parts of learning from thence, as to go so
the game of chess, which some curious and
men have deduced from India into Europe
several roads; that is, by Persia into Greece
Arabia into Africa and Spain.

Thus much I thought might be allowed
say, for the giving some idea of what those
learned men were, or may have been, wh
ancients to those that are ancients to us.
observe what these have been, is more e
obvious: the most ancient Grecians that
at all acquainted with, after Lycurgus, w
certainly a great philosopher, as well as l
were the seven sages; though the court of
is said to have been much resorted to, by the
of Greece, in the happy beginnings of his
and some of these seven seem to have brou
of the sciences out of Egypt and Phœnic
Greece; particularly those of astronomy, as
geometry, and arithmetic: these were soon
by Pythagoras, (who seems to have introdu
tural and moral philosophy) and by severa
followers, both in Greece and Italy: but of
there remains nothing in writing now ex
so that Hippocrates, Plato, and Xenophon,
first philosophers whose works have esca

injuries of time. But, that we may not conc
the first writers we have of the Grecians were
first learned or wise among them—we shall f
upon inquiry, that the more ancient sages of Gr
appear, by the characters remaining of them
have been much the greater men: they were g
rally princes or lawgivers of their countries, o
least offered and invited to be so, either of t
own or of others, that desired them to frame or
form their several institutions of civil governm
they were commonly excellent poets, and g
physicians: they were so learned in natural ph
sophy, that they foretold, not only eclipses in
heavens, but earthquakes at land, and storm
sea, great droughts, and great plagues, much ple
or much scarcity of certain sorts of fruits or gr
not to mention the magical powers attribute
several of them, to allay storms, to raise gales
appease commotions of people, to make pla
cease; which qualities, whether upon any gro
of truth or no, yet, if well believed, must have ra
them to that strange height they were at, of c
mon esteem and honour, in their own and succ
ing ages.

By all this may be determined, whether our
derns or our ancients may have had the gre
and the better guides, and which of them
taken the greater pains, and with the more a
cation, in the pursuit of knowledge: and I t
it is enough to show, that the advantages we
from those we call the ancients, may not be gr
than what they had from those that were
them.

But, after all, I do not know whether the

flights of wit and knowledge, like those of power and of empire in the world, may not have been made by the pure native force of spirit or genius, in some single men, rather than by any derived strength among them, however increased by succession; and whether they may not have been the achievements of nature, rather than the improvements of art. Thus, the conquests of Ninus and Semiramis, of Alexander and Tamerlane, which I take to have been the greatest recorded in story, were at their height in those persons that began them; and so far from being increased by their successors, that they were not preserved in their extent and vigour by any of them, grew weaker in every hand they passed through, or were divided into many, that set up for great princes, out of several small ruins of the first empires, till they withered away in time, or were lost by the change of names, and forms of families or governments.

Just the same fate seems to have attended the highest flights of learning and of knowledge that are upon our registers. Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus, Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, were the first mighty conquerors of ignorance in our world, and made greater progresses in the several empires of science than any of their successors have been since able to reach. These have hardly ever pretended more, than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented; and, not able to compass that itself, they have set up for authors upon some parcels of those great stocks, or else have contented themselves only to comment upon those texts, and make the best copies they could, after those originals.

I have long thought, that the different abilities of men, which we call wisdom or prudence for the conduct of public affairs or private life, grow directly out of that little grain of intellect or good sense which they bring with them into the world; and that the defect of it in men comes from some want in their conception or birth.

> —— dixitque semel nascentibus Auctor,
> Quidquid scire licet.

And though this may be improved or impaired, in some degree, by accidents of education, of study, and of conversation and business, yet it cannot go beyond the reach of its native force, no more than life can beyond the period to which it was destined by the strength or weakness of the seminal virtue.

If these speculations should be true, then I know not what advantages we can pretend to modern knowledge, by any we receive from the ancients: nay, it is possible, men may lose rather than gain by them; may lessen the force and growth of their own genius, by constraining and forming it upon that of others; may have less knowledge of their own, for contenting themselves with that of those before them: so a man that only translates, shall never be a poet; nor a painter that only copies, nor a swimmer that swims always with bladders; so people that trust wholly to others' charity, and without industry of their own, will be always poor. Besides, who can tell, whether learning may not even weaken invention, in a man that has great advantages from nature and birth; whether the weight and number

of so many other men's thoughts and notic
not suppress his own, or hinder the moti
agitation of them, from which all invention
as heaping on wood, or too many sticks,
close together, suppresses, and sometimes q
tinguishes, a little spark, that would otherw
grown up to a noble flame. The strength c
as well as of body, grows more from the wa
exercise, than of clothes: nay, too much
foreign heat rather makes men faint, and th
stitutions tender or weaker than they w
without them. Let it come about how it
we are dwarfs, we are still so though we sta
a giant's shoulders; and even so placed, yet
less than he, if we are naturally shorter sig
if we do not look as much about us, or if
dazzled with the height, which often happe
weakness either of heart or brain.

In the growth and stature of souls, as
bodies, the common productions are of inc
sizes, that occasion no gazing, nor no wond
though there are, or have been sometimes
and sometimes giants in the world; yet
not follow that there must be such in every
in every country: this we can no more co
than that there never have been any, becau
are none now, at least in the compass of
sent knowledge or inquiry. As I believe th
have been giants at some time, and some
other in the world, or such a stature, as
have been equalled perhaps again in sever
sands of years, or in any other parts; so th
be giants in wit and knowledge, of so over
size, as not to be equalled again in many suc

of ages, or any compass of place or country: such, I am sure, Lucretius esteems and describes Epicurus to have been, and to have risen, like a prodigy of invention and knowledge, such as had not been before, nor was like to be again; and I know not why others of the ancients may not be allowed to have been as great in their kinds, and to have built as high, though upon different schemes or foundations. Because there is a stag's head at Amboyse of a most prodigious size, and a large table at Memorancy cut out of the thickness of a vine-stock, is it necessary that there must be, every age, such a stag in every great forest, or such a vine in every large vineyard; or that the productions of nature, in any kind, must be still alike, or something near it, because nature is still the same? May there not many circumstances concur to one production, that do not to any other, in one or many ages? In the growth of a tree, there is the native strength of the seed, both from the kind, and from the perfections of its ripening, and from the health and vigour of the plant that bore it: there is the degree of strength and excellence in that vein of earth where it first took root: there is a propriety of soil, suited to the kind of tree that grows in it: there is a great favour or disfavour to its growth, from accidents of water and of shelter, from the kindness or unkindness of seasons, till it be past the need or the danger of them. All these, and perhaps many others, joined with the propitiousness of climate to that sort of tree, and the length of age it shall stand and grow, may produce an oak, a fig, or a plane-tree, that shall deserve to be renowned in

story, and shall not, perhaps, be paralleled in other countries or times.

May not the same have happened in the production, growth, and size of wit and genius in the world, or in some parts or ages of it, and from many more circumstances that contributed towards it, than what may concur to the stupendous growth of a tree or animal? May there not have been, in Greece or Italy of old, such prodigies of invention and learning, in philosophy, mathematics, physic, oratory, poetry, that none has ever since approached them; as well as there were in painting, statuary, architecture? And yet their unparalleled and inimitable excellences in these are undisputed.

Science and arts have run their circles, and had their periods in the several parts of the world: they are generally agreed to have held their course from east to west, to have begun in Chaldea and Egypt, to have been transplanted from thence to Greece, from Greece to Rome; to have sunk there, and, after many ages, to have revived from those ashes, and to have sprung up again both in Italy and other more western provinces of Europe. When Chaldea and Egypt were learned and civil, Greece and Rome were as rude and barbarous as all Egypt and Syria now are, and have been long: when Greece and Rome were at their heights in arts and sciences, Gaul, Germany, Britain, were as ignorant and barbarous as any parts of Greece or Turkey can be now.

These, and greater changes, are made in the several countries of the world, and courses of time,

by the revolutions of empire, the devastations of armies, the cruelties of conquering and the calamities of enslaved nations; by the violent inundations of water in some countries, and the cruel ravages of plagues in others. These sorts of accidents sometimes lay them so waste, that, when they rise again, it is from such low beginnings, that they look like new-created regions, or growing out of the original state of mankind, and without any records or remembrances, beyond certain short periods of time. Thus, that vast continent of Norway is said to have been so wholly desolated by a plague, about eight or nine hundred years ago, that it was for some ages following a very desert, and since all overgrown with wood: and Ireland was so spoiled and wasted by the conquest of the Scutes and Danes, that there hardly remains any story or tradition what that island was, how planted or governed, about five hundred years ago. What changes have been made, by violent storms and inundations of the sea, in the maritime provinces of the Low Countries, is hard to know, or to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us of all that passed there before a certain and short period of time.

The accounts of many other countries would, perhaps, as hardly, and as late, have waded out of the depths of time, and gulfs of ignorance, had it not been for the assistances of those two languages, to which we owe all we have of learning or ancient records in the world: for whether we have any thing of the old Chaldean, Hebrew, Arabian, that is truly genuine, or more ancient than the Augustan age, I am much in doubt: yet it is

probable the vast Alexandrian library must have chiefly consisted of books composed in those languages, with the Egyptian, Syrian, and Ethiopic, or at least translated out of them by the care of the Egyptian kings or priests, as the Old Testament was, wherein the Septuagints employed left their names to that famous translation.

It is very true and just, all that is said of the mighty progress that learning and knowledge have made in these western parts of Europe, within these hundred and fifty years; but that does not conclude, it must be at a greater height than it had been in other countries, where it was growing much longer periods of time: it argues more how low it was then amongst us, rather than how high it is now.

Upon the fall of the Roman empire, almost all learning was buried in its ruins: the Northern nations that conquered, or rather overwhelmed it, by their numbers, were too barbarous to preserve the remains of learning or civility, more carefully than they did those of statuary or architecture, which fell before their brutish rage. The Saracens indeed, from their conquests of Egypt, Syria, and Greece, carried home great spoils of learning, as well as other riches, and gave the original of all that knowledge, which flourished for some time among the Arabians, and has since been copied out of many authors among them, as theirs have been out of those of the countries they had subdued; nor indeed do learning, civility, morality, seem any where to have made a greater growth, in so short a time, than in that empire, nor to have *flourished* more than in the reign of their great

Almanzor, under whose victorious ensigns Spain was conquered by the Moors; but the Goths, and all the rest of those Scythian swarms, that, from beyond the Danube and the Elbe, under so many several names, overran all Europe, took very hardly and very late any tincture of the learning and humanity that had flourished in the several regions of it, under the protection, and by the example and instructions of the Romans, that had so long possessed them: those Northern nations were indeed easier induced to embrace the religion of those they had subdued; and by their devotion gave great authority and revenues, and thereby ease, to the clergy, both secular and regular, through all their conquests. Great numbers of the better sort among the oppressed natives, finding this vein among them, and no other way to be safe and quiet under such rough masters, betook themselves to the profession and assemblies of religious orders and fraternities; and among those only were preserved all the poor remainders of learning in these several countries.

But these good men either contented themselves with their devotion, or with the ease of quiet lives, or else employed their thoughts and studies to raise and maintain the esteem and authority of that sacred order, to which they owed the safety and repose, the wealth and honour, they enjoyed: and in this they so well succeeded, that the conquerors were governed by those they had subdued—the greatest princes by the meanest priests; and the victorious Franks and Lombard kings fell at the feet of the Roman prelates.

Whilst the clergy were busied in these thoughts

or studies, the better sort among the lait
wholly turned to arms and to honour; the r
sort to labour or to spoil: princes taken u
wars among themselves, or in those of th
Land, or between the popes and emperors
disputes of the ecclesiastical and secular pc
learning so little in use among them, that fev
write or read, besides those of the long
During this course of time, which lasted
ages in the western parts of Europe, the
tongue was wholly lost, and the purity of t
man to that degree, that what remained of
only a certain jargon, rather than Latin, that
among the monks and friars who were at all
ed, and among the students of the several u
sities; which served to carry them to Rome, l
suit of preferments or causes depending ther
little else.

When the Turks took Constantinople, abo
hundred years ago, and soon after possessed
selves of all Greece, the poor natives, fearl
tyranny of those cruel masters, made their es
in great numbers, to the neighbouring pa
Christendom; some by the Austrian territorie
Germany; others by the Venetian into Ita
France: several, that were learned among
Grecians, and brought many ancient books
them in that language, began to teach it in
countries; first to gain subsistence, and after
favour in some princes' or great men's courts
began to take a pleasure or pride in countena
learned men. Thus began the restoration of
ing in these parts, with that of the Greek to
and soon after, Reuchlyn and Erasmus bega

of the purer and ancient Latin. After them, Buchanan carried it, I think, to the greatest height of any of the moderns before or since. The monkish Latin, upon his return, was laughed out of doors, and remains only in the Inns of Germany or Poland; and with the restitution of these two noble languages, and the books remaining of them, (which many princes and prelates were curious to recover and collect) learning of all sorts began to thrive in these western regions; and since that time, and in the first succeeding century, made perhaps a greater growth than in any other that we know of in such a compass of time, considering into what depths of ignorance it was sunk before.

But why from thence should be concluded, that it has outgrown all that was ancient, I see no reason. If a strong and vigorous man, at thirty years old, should fall into a consumption, and so draw on till fifty in the extremest weakness and infirmity; after that, should begin to recover health till sixty, so as to be again as strong as men usually are at that age; it might, perhaps, truly be said, in that case, that he had grown more in strength that last ten years than any others of his life, but not that he was grown to more strength and vigour than he had at thirty years old.

But what are the sciences wherein we pretend to excel? I know of no new philosophers, that have made entries upon that noble stage for fifteen hundred years past, unless Des Cartes and Hobbes should pretend to it; of whom I shall make no critique here, but only say, that, by what appears of learned men's opinions in this age, they have by

no means eclipsed the lustre of Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, or others of the ancients. For grammar or rhetoric, no man ever disputed it with them; nor for poetry, that ever I heard of, besides the new French author I have mentioned; and against whose opinion there could, I think, never have been given stronger evidence, than by his own poems, printed together with that treatise.

There is nothing new in astronomy, to vie with the ancients, unless it be the Copernican system; nor in physic, unless Harvey's circulation of the blood: but whether either of these be modern discoveries, or derived from old fountains, is disputed: nay, it is so too, whether they are true or no; for, though reason may seem to favour them more than the contrary opinions, yet sense can very hardly allow them; and, to satisfy mankind, both these must concur: but, if they are true, yet these two great discoveries have made no change in the conclusions of astronomy, nor in the practice of physic; and so have been of little use to the world, though, perhaps, of much honour to the authors.

What are become of the charms of music, by which men and beasts, fishes, fowls, and serpents, were so frequently enchanted, and their very natures changed; by which the passions of men were raised to the greatest height and violence, and then as suddenly appeased; so as they might be justly said to be turned into lions or lambs, into wolves or into harts, by the powers and charms of this admirable art? It is agreed by the learned, that the science of music, so admired of the ancients, is wholly lost in the world; and that what we have now, is made up out of certain notes that fell into

the fancy or observation of a poor friar, in chanting his matins: so as those two divine excellences of music and poetry are grown, in a manner, to be little more, but the one fiddling, and the other rhyming; and are, indeed, very worthy the ignorance of the friar, and the barbarousness of the Goths, that introduced them among us.

What have we remaining of magic, by which the Indians, the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, were so renowned; and by which, effects so wonderful, and to common men so astonishing, were produced, as made them have recourse to spirits, or supernatural powers, for some account of their strange operations? By magic, I mean some excelling knowledge of nature, and the various powers and qualities of its several productions; and the application of certain agents to certain patients, which, by force of some peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar observation or comprehension. These are, by ignorant people, called magic or conjuring, and such like terms; and an account of them, much about as wise, is given by the common learned, from sympathies, antipathies, idiosyncrasies, talismans, and some scraps or terms left us by the Egyptians or Grecians, of the ancient magic; but the science seems, with several others, to be wholly lost.

What traces have we left of that admirable science or skill in architecture, by which such stupendous fabrics have been raised of old, and so many of the wonders of the world been produced, and which are so little approached by our modern achievements of this sort, that they hardly fall

within our imagination? not to mention the walls and palace of Babylon, the pyramids of Egypt, the tomb of Mausolus, or colosse of Rhodes, the temples and palaces of Greece and Rome—what can be more admirable in this kind than the Roman theatres, their aqueducts, and their bridges; among which, that of Trajan, over the Danube, seems to have been the last flight of the ancient architecture! The stupendous effects of this science sufficiently evince at what heights the mathematics were among the ancients: but, if this be not enough, whoever would be satisfied, need go no farther than the siege of Syracuse, and that mighty defence made against the Roman power, more by the wonderful science and arts of Archimedes, and almost magical force of his engines, than by all the strength of the city, or number and bravery of the inhabitants.

The greatest invention that I know of, in latter ages, has been that of the loadstone; and consequently, the greatest improvement has been made in the art of navigation: yet there must be allowed to have been something stupendous in the numbers and in the built of their ships and galleys of old; and the skill of pilots, from the observation of the stars in the more serene climates, may be judged by the navigations so celebrated in story of the Tyrians and Carthaginians, not to mention other nations: however, it is to this we owe the discovery and commerce of so many vast countries, which were very little, if at all, known to the ancients, and the experimental proof of this terrestrial globe, which was before only speculation, but has

since been surrounded by the fortune and boldness of several navigators. From this great though fortuitous invention, and the consequences thereof, it must be allowed that geography is mightily advanced in these latter ages: the vast continents of China, the East and West Indies, the long extent and coasts of Africa, with the numberless islands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our acquaintance, and our maps; and great increases of wealth and luxury, but none of knowledge, brought among us, farther than the extent and situation of country, the customs and manners of so many original nations, which we call barbarous; and, I am sure, have treated them as if we hardly esteemed them to be a part of mankind. I do not doubt, but many great and more noble uses would have been made of such conquests or discoveries, if they had fallen to the share of the Greeks and Romans, in those ages when knowledge and fame were in as great request as endless gains and wealth are among us now; and how much greater discoveries might have been made by such spirits as theirs, is hard to guess. I am sure, ours, though great, yet look very imperfect, as to what the face of this terrestrial globe would probably appear, if they had been pursued as far as we might justly have expected from the progresses of navigation since the use of the compass, which seems to have been long at a stand. How little has been performed of what has been so often and so confidently promised, of a north-west passage to the east of Tartary, and north of China! How little do we know of the lands on that side of the Magellan

Straits, that lie towards the south pole, which may be vast islands or continents, for aught any can yet aver, though that passage was so long since found out! Whether Japan be island or continent, with some parts of Tartary on the north side, is not certainly agreed. The lands of Yedso upon the north-east continent have been no more than coasted; and whether they may not join to the northern continent of America, is by some doubted.

But the defect or negligence seems yet to have been greater towards the south, where we know little beyond thirty-five degrees; and that only by the necessity of doubling the Cape of Good Hope in our East India voyages: yet a continent has been long since found out within fifteen degrees to south, and about the length of Java, which is marked by the name of New Holland in the maps, and to what extent none knows, either to the south, the east, or the west; yet the learned have been of opinion, that there must be a balance of earth on that side of the line in some proportion to what there is on the other; and that it cannot be all sea from thirty degrees to the south pole, since we have found land to above sixty-five degrees towards the north; but our navigators that way have been confined to the roads of trade, and our discoveries bounded by what we can manage to a certain degree of gain: and I have heard it said among the Dutch, that their East India Company have long since forbidden, and under the greatest penalties, any farther attempts of discovering that continent, having already more trade in those parts than they can turn to account; and fearing some more popu-

lous nation of Europe might make great establishments of trade in some of those unknown regions, which might ruin or impair what they have already in the Indies.

Thus we are lame still in geography itself, which we might have expected to run up to so much greater perfection by the use of the compass; and it seems to have been little advanced these last hundred years. So far have we been from improving upon those advantages we have received from the knowledge of the ancients, that, since the late restoration of learning and arts among us, our first flights seem to have been the highest; and a sudden damp to have fallen upon our wings, which has hindered us from rising above certain heights. The arts of painting and statuary began to revive with learning in Europe, and made a great but short flight; so as, for these last hundred years, we have not had one master in either of them who deserved a rank with those that flourished in that short period after they began among us.

It were too great a mortification to think that the same fate has happened to us, even in our modern learning; as if the growth of that, as well as of natural bodies, had some short periods, beyond which it could not reach, and after which it must begin to decay: it falls in one country, or one age, and rises again in others; but never beyond a certain pitch. One man, or one country, at a certain time, runs a great length in some certain kinds of knowledge, but loses as much ground in others, that were, perhaps, as useful and as valuable: there is a certain degree of capacity in the greatest vessel; and, when it is full, if you pour in still,

it must run out some way or other; and the r
it runs out on one side, the less runs out at
other: so the greatest memory, after a cer
degree, as it learns or retains more of some th
or words, loses and forgets as much of others:
largest and deepest reach of thought, the mo
pursues some certain subjects, the more it negl
others.

Besides, few men or none excel in all facul
of mind. A great memory may fail of inventi
both may want judgment to digest or apply w
they remember or invent: great courage may w
caution; great prudence may want vigour; yet
all necessary to make a great commander: but l
can a man hope to excel in all qualities, when s
are produced by the heat, others by the cold
of brain and temper? The abilities of man m
fall short on one side or other, like too scan
blanket when you are a-bed; if you pull it u
your shoulders, you leave your feet bare; if
thrust it down upon your feet, your shoulders
uncovered.

But what would we have, unless it be other
tures and beings than God Almighty has given
The height of our statures may be six or se
feet, and we would have it sixteen; the length
our age may reach to a hundred years, and
would have it a thousand: we are born to gro
upon the earth, and we would fain soar up to
skies: we cannot comprehend the growth o
kernel or seed, the frame of an ant or bee;
are amazed at the wisdom of the one, and indus
of the other; and yet we will know the substan
the figure, the courses, the influences of all th

glorious celestial bodies, and the end for which they were made: we pretend to give a clear account how thunder and lightning (that great artillery of God Almighty) is produced, and we cannot comprehend how the voice of a man is framed, that poor little noise we make every time we speak. The motion of the sun is plain and evident to some astronomers, and of the earth to others; yet we none of us know which of them moves, and meet with many seeming impossibilities in both, and beyond the fathom of human reason or comprehension: nay, we do not so much as know what motion is, nor how a stone moves from our hand, when we throw it across the street: of all these, that most ancient and divine writer gives the best account in that short satire, "Vain man would fain be wise, when he is born like a wild ass's colt."

But, God be thanked, his pride is greater than his ignorance; and what he wants in knowledge, he supplies by sufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be seen; when he is at the end of his line, he is at the bottom of the ocean; when he has shot his best, he is sure none ever did nor ever can shoot better or beyond it: his own reason is the certain measure of truth; his own knowledge, of what is possible in nature; though his mind and his thoughts change every seven years, as well as his strength and his features: nay, though his opinions change every week or every day, yet he is sure, or at least confident, that his present thoughts and conclusions are just and true, and

cannot be deceived: and, among all the miseries to which mankind is born and subjected in the whole course of his life, he has this one felicity to comfort and support him; that, in all ages, in all things, every man is always in the right. A boy at fifteen is wiser than his father at forty; the meanest subject than his prince or governors; and the modern scholars, because they have, for a hundred years past, learned their lesson pretty well, are much more knowing than the ancients their masters.

But let it be so, and proved by good reasons, is it so by experience too? Have the studies, the writings, the productions of Gresham college, or the late academies of Paris, outshined or eclipsed the Lyceum of Plato, the Academy of Aristotle, the Stoa of Zeno, the garden of Epicurus? Has Harvey outdone Hippocrates, or Wilkins Archimedes? Are D'Avila's and Strada's histories beyond those of Herodotus and Livy? Are Sleyden's commentaries beyond those of Cæsar? the flights of Boileau above those of Virgil? If all this must be allowed, I will then yield Gondibert to have excelled Homer, as is pretended; and the modern French poetry, all that of the ancients: and yet I think, it may be as reasonably said, that the plays in Moorfields are beyond the Olympic games; a Welsh or Irish harp excels those of Orpheus or Arion; the pyramid in London, those of Memphis; and the French conquests in Flanders are greater than those of Alexander and Cæsar, as their operas and panegyrics would make us believe.

But the consideration of poetry ought to

subject by itself. For the books we have in prose, do any of the modern we converse with appear of such a spirit and force, as if they would live longer than the ancient have done? If our wit and eloquence, our knowledge or inventions, would deserve it, yet our languages would not: there is no hope of their lasting long, nor of any thing in them; they change every hundred years so as to be hardly known for the same, or any thing of the former styles to be endured by the latter; so as they can no more last like the ancients, than excellent carvings in wood like those in marble or brass.

The three modern tongues most esteemed are Italian, Spanish, and French, all imperfect dialects of the noble Roman; first mingled and corrupted with the harsh words and terminations of those many different and barbarous nations, by whose invasions and excursions the Roman empire was long infested: they were afterwards made up into these several languages, by long and popular use, out of those ruins and corruptions of Latin, and the prevailing languages of those nations to which these several provinces came in time to be most and longest subjected, (as the Goths and Moors in Spain, the Goths and Lombards in Italy, the Franks in Gaul) besides a mingle of those tongues which were original to Gaul and to Spain before the Roman conquests and establishments there. Of these, there may be some remainders in Biscay or the Asturias; but I doubt whether there be any of the old Gallic in France, the subjection there having been more universal, both to the Romans and Franks: but I do not find the mountainous

parts on the north of Spain were ever wholly subdued, or formerly governed, either by the Romans, Goths, or Saracens, no more than Wales by Romans, Saxons, or Normans, after their conquests in our island, which has preserved the ancient Biscayan and British more entire, than any native tongue of other provinces, where the Roman and Gothic or Northern conquests reached, and were for any time established.

It is easy to imagine, how imperfect copies these modern languages, thus composed, must needs be of so excellent an original, being patched up out of the conceptions, as well as sounds, of such barbarous or enslaved people; whereas the Latin was framed or cultivated by the thoughts and uses of the noblest nation that appears upon any record of story, and enriched only by the spoils of Greece, which alone could pretend to contest it with them. It is obvious enough what rapport there is, and must ever be, between the thoughts and words, the conceptions and languages of every country, and how great a difference this must make in the comparison and excellence of books; and how easy and just a preference it must decree to those of the Greek and Latin, before any of the modern languages.

It may perhaps be farther affirmed, in favour of the ancients, that the oldest books we have are still in their kind the best. The two most ancient that I know of in prose, among those we call profane authors, are Æsop's Fables, and Phalaris's Epistles, both living near the same time, which was that of Cyrus and Pythagoras. As the first has been agreed [illegible] all ages since for the greatest master in his kind,

and all others of that sort have been but imitations of his original; so I think the epistles of Phalaris to have more race, more spirit, more force of wit and genius, than any others I have ever seen, either ancient or modern. I know several learned men, (or that usually pass for such, under the name of critics) have not esteemed them genuine; and Politian, with some others, have attributed them to Lucian: but I think he must have little skill in painting, that cannot find out this to be an original; such diversity of passions upon such variety of actions and passages of life and government, such freedom of thought, such boldness of expression, such bounty to his friends, such scorn of his enemies, such honour of learned men, such esteem of good, such knowledge of life, such contempt of death, with such fierceness of nature, and cruelty of revenge, could never be represented but by him that possessed them; and I esteem Lucian to have been no more capable of writing, than of acting what Phalaris did. In all one writ, you find the scholar or the sophist; and in all the other, the tyrant and the commander.

The next to these, in time, are Herodotus, Thucydides, Hippocrates, Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle; of whom I shall say no more than what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their several kinds inimitable: so are Cæsar, Sallust, and Cicero, in theirs, who are the ancientest of the Latin, (I speak still of prose) unless it be some little of old Cato upon rustic affairs.

The height and purity of the Roman style, as it began towards the time of Lucretius, which was about that of the Jugurthine war, so it ended about

that of Tiberius; and the last strain of it seems to have been Velleius Paterculus. The purity of the Greek lasted a great deal longer, and must be allowed till Trajan's time, when Plutarch wrote, whose Greek is much more estimable than the Latin of Tacitus his contemporary. After this last, I know none that deserves the name of Latin, in comparison of what went before them, especially in the Augustan age; if any, it is the little treatise of Minutius Felix. All Latin books that we have till the end of Trajan, and all Greek till the end of Marcus Antoninus, have a true and very estimable value: all written since that time seem to me to have little more than what comes from the relation of events we are glad to know, or the controversy of opinions in religion or laws, wherein the busy world has been so much employed.

The great wits among the moderns have been, in my opinion, and in their several kinds, of the Italian, Boccace, Machiavel, and Padre Paolo; among the Spaniards, Cervantes, (who writ Don Quixote) and Guevara; among the French, Rabelais and Montagne; among the English, sir Philip Sidney, Bacon, and Selden: I mention nothing of what is written upon the subject of divinity, wherein the Spanish and English pens have been most conversant and most excelled. The modern French are Voiture, Rochefoucault's Memoirs, Bussy's Amadis de Gaul, with several other little relations or memoirs that have run this age, which are very pleasant and entertaining, and seem to have refined the French language to a degree that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have hap-

pened there, as it does in all works, that the more they are filed and polished, the less they have of weight and of strength; and as that language has much more fineness and smoothness at this time, so I take it to have had much more force, spirit, and compass, in Montagne's age.

Since those accidents which contributed to the restoration of learning, almost extinguished in the western parts of Europe, have been observed, it will be just to mention some that may have hindered the advancement of it, in proportion to what might have been expected from the mighty growth and progress made in the first age after its recovery. One great reason may have been, that, very soon after the entry of learning upon the scene of Christendom, another was made, by many of the new-learned men, into the inquiries and contests about matters of religion—the manners, and maxims, and institutions introduced by the clergy for seven or eight centuries past; the authority of Scripture and tradition; of popes and of councils; of the ancient fathers, and of the latter schoolmen and casuists; of ecclesiastical and civil power. The humour of travelling into all these mystical or entangled matters, mingling with the interests and passions of princes and of parties, and thereby heightened or inflamed, produced infinite disputes, raised violent heats throughout all parts of Christendom, and soon ended in many defections or reformations from the Roman church, and in several new institutions, both ecclesiastical and civil, in divers countries, which have been since rooted and established in almost all the north-west parts. The endless disputes and litigious quarrels upon all

these subjects, favoured and encouraged by the interests of the several princes engaged in them, either took up wholly, or generally employed, the thoughts, the studies, the applications, the endeavours of all or most of the finest wits, the deepest scholars, and the most learned writers that the age produced. Many excellent spirits, and the most penetrating genii, that might have made admirable progresses and advances in many other sciences, were sunk and overwhelmed in the abyss of disputes about matters of religion, without ever turning their looks or thoughts any other way. To these disputes of the pen, succeeded those of the sword; and the ambition of great princes and ministers, mingled with the zeal, or covered with the pretences of religion, has for a hundred years past infested Christendom with almost a perpetual course or succession either of civil or of foreign wars; the noise and disorders whereof have been ever the most capital enemies of the Muses, who are seated, by the ancient fables, upon the top of Parnassus, that is, in a place of safety and of quiet from the reach of all noises and disturbances of the regions below.

Another circumstance, that may have hindered the advancement of learning, has been a want or decay of favour in great kings and princes, to encourage or applaud it. Upon the first return or recovery of this fair stranger among us, all were fond of seeing her, apt to applaud her: she was lodged in palaces instead of cells; and the greatest kings and princes of the age took either a pleasure in courting her, or a vanity in admiring her, and in favouring all her train. The courts of Italy and

Germany, of England, of France, of popes, and of emperors, thought themselves honoured and adorned by the number and qualities of learned men, and by all the improvements of sciences and arts, wherein they excelled: they were invited from all parts, for the use and entertainment of kings, for the education and instruction of young princes, for advice and assistance to the greatest ministers; and, in short, the favour of learning was the humour and mode of the age. Francis I. Charles V. and Henry VIII. those three great rivals, agreed in this, though in nothing else. Many nobles pursued this vein with great application and success; among whom, Picus de Mirandula, a sovereign prince in Italy, might have proved a prodigy of learning, if his studies and life had lasted as long as those of the ancients: for I think all of them that writ much of what we have now remaining, lived old, whereas he died about three-and-thirty, and left the world in admiration of so much knowledge in so much youth. Since those reigns, I have not observed, in our modern story, any great princes much celebrated for their favour of learning, farther than to serve their turns, to justify their pretensions and quarrels, or flatter their successes. The honour of princes has, of late, struck sail to their interests; whereas, of old, their interests, greatness, and conquests, were all dedicated to their glory and fame.

How much the studies and labours of learned men must have been damped, for want of this influence and kind aspect of princes, may be best conjectured from what happened on the contrary about the Augustan age, when the learning of

Rome was at its height, and perhaps owed it in some degree to the bounty and patronage of that emperor, and Mæcenas his favourite, as well as to the felicity of the empire, and tranquillity of the age.

The humour of avarice, and greediness of wealth, have been ever, and in all countries where silver and gold have been in price and of current use: but if it be true in particular men, that, as riches increase, the desires of them do so too, may it not be true of the general vein and humour of ages? May they not have turned more to this pursuit of insatiable gains, since the discoveries and plantations of the West-Indies, and those vast treasures that have flowed into these western parts of Europe almost every year, and with such mighty tides, for so long a course of time? Where few are rich, few care for it; where many are so, many desire it: and most in time begin to think it necessary. Where this opinion grows generally in a country, the temples of honour are soon pulled down, and all men's sacrifices are made to those of fortune; the soldier as well as the merchant, the scholar as well as the ploughman, the divine and the statesman, as well as the lawyer and physician.

Now I think that nothing is more evident in the world, than that honour is a much stronger principle, both of action and invention, than gain can ever be; that all the great and noble productions of wit and of courage have been inspired and exalted by that alone; that the charming flights and labours of poets, the deep speculations and studies of philosophers, the conquests of emperors and achievements of heroes, have all flowed from this

one source of honour and fame. The last farewell that Horace takes of his lyric poems, Epicurus of his inventions in philosophy, Augustus of his empire and government, are all of the same strain; and as their lives were entertained, so their age was relieved, and their deaths softened, by the prospect of lying down upon the bed of fame.

Avarice is, on the other side, of all passions the most sordid, the most clogged and covered with dirt and with dross, so that it cannot raise its wings beyond the smell of the earth: it is the pay of common soldiers, as honour is of commanders: and yet, among those themselves, none ever went so far upon the hopes of prey or of spoils, as those that have been spirited by honour or religion. It is no wonder then, that learning has been so little advanced since it grew to be mercenary, and the progress of it has been fettered by the cares of the world, and disturbed by the desires of being rich, or the fears of being poor; from all which, the ancient philosophers, the Brachmans of India, the Chaldean Magi, the Egyptian priests, were disentangled and free.

But the last maim given to learning, has been by the scorn of pedantry, which the shallow, the superficial, and the sufficient among scholars first drew upon themselves, and very justly, by pretending to more than they had, or to more esteem than what they could deserve; by broaching it in all places, at all times, upon all occasions, and by living so much among themselves, or in their closets and cells, as to make them unfit for all other business, and ridiculous in all other conversations. As an infection that rises in a town, first falls upon

children or weak constitutions, or those that are subject to other diseases, but, spreading farther by degrees, seizes upon the most healthy, vigorous, and strong; and when the contagion grows very general, all the neighbours avoid coming into the town, or are afraid of those that are well among them, as much as of those that are sick—just so it fared in the commonwealth of learning; some poor weak constitutions were first infected with pedantry; the contagion spread, in time, upon some that were stronger; foreigners, that heard there was a plague in the country, grew afraid to come there, and avoided the commerce of the sound, as well as of the diseased. This dislike or apprehension turned, like all fear, to hatred, and hatred to scorn: the rest of the neighbours began first to rail at pedants, then to ridicule them; the learned began to fear the same fate, and that the pigeons should be taken for daws, because they were all in a flock; and because the poorest and meanest of their company were proud, the best and the richest began to be ashamed.

An ingenious Spaniard at Brussels would needs have it, that the history of Don Quixote had ruined the Spanish monarchy; for, before that time, love and valour were all romance among them; every young cavalier, that entered the scene, dedicated the services of his life to his honour first, and then to his mistress: they lived and died in this romantic vein; and the old duke of Alva, in his last Portugal expedition, had a young mistress, to whom the glory of that achievement was devoted, by which he hoped to value himself, instead of those qualities he had lost with his youth. After Don

Quixote appeared, and with that inimitable wit and humour turned all this romantic honour and love into ridicule; the Spaniards, he said, began to grow ashamed of both, and to laugh at fighting and loving, or at least otherwise than to pursue their fortune, or satisfy their lust; and the consequences of this, both upon their bodies and their minds, this Spaniard would needs have pass for a great cause of the ruin of Spain, or of its greatness and power.

Whatever effect the ridicule of knight-errantry might have had upon that monarchy, I believe that pedantry has had a very ill one upon the commonwealth of learning; and I wish the vein of ridiculing all that is serious and good, all honour and virtue, as well as learning and piety, may have no worse effects on any other state: it is the itch of our age and climate, and has overrun both the court and the stage; enters a house of lords and commons as boldly as a coffee-house; debates of council as well as private conversation; and I have known, in my life, more than one or two ministers of state, that would rather have said a witty thing than done a wise one, and made the company laugh rather than the kingdom rejoice. But this is enough to excuse the imperfections of learning in our age, and to censure the sufficiency of some of the learned; and this small piece of justice I have done the ancients, will not, I hope, be taken, any more than it is meant, for any injury to the moderns.

I shall conclude with a saying of Alphonsus, (surnamed the Wise) king of Arragon:

"That among so many things as are by men

possessed or pursued in the course of their lives, all the rest are baubles, besides old wood to burn, old wine to drink, old friends to converse with, and old books to read."

SOME THOUGHTS

UPON REVIEWING

THE ESSAY

OF

ANCIENT AND MODERN LEARNING.

I HAVE been induced, by several motives, to take a farther survey of the controversy arisen of late years concerning the excellence of ancient and modern learning: first, the common interest of learning in general, and particularly in our universities; and to prevent the discouragement of scholars, in all degrees, from reading the ancient authors, who must be acknowledged to have been the foundation of all modern learning, whatever the superstructures may have been: next, a just indignation at the insolence of the modern advocates, in defaming those heroes among the ancients, whose memory has been sacred and admired for so many ages; as Homer, Virgil, Pythagoras, Democritus, &c. This, I confess, gave me the same kind of horror I should have had in seeing some young barbarous Goths or Vandals breaking or defacing the admirable statues of those ancient heroes of Greece or Rome, which

had so long preserved their memories honoured, and almost adored, for so many generations.

My last motive was, to vindicate the credit of our nation, as others have done that of the French, from the imputation of this injustice and presumption that the modern advocates have used in this case; for which end it will be necessary to relate the whole state of this controversy.

It is by themselves confessed, that, till the new philosophy had gotten ground in these parts of the world, which is about fifty or sixty years date, there were but few that ever pretended to exceed or equal the ancients: those that did were only some physicians, as Paracelsus and his disciples, who introduced new notions in physic, and new methods of practice, in opposition to the Galenical; and this chiefly from chemical medicines or operations: but these were not able to maintain their pretence long; the credit of their cures, as well as their reasons, soon decaying with the novelty of them, which had given them vogue at first.

Des Cartes was the next that would be thought to excel the ancients, by a new scheme or body of philosophy, which, I am apt to think, he had a mind to impose upon the world, as Nostradamus did his prophecies, only for their own amusement, and without either of them believing any of it themselves: for Des Cartes, among his friends, always called his philosophy his romance; which makes it as pleasant to hear young scholars possessed with all his notions, as to see boys taking Amadis, and the Mirror of Knighthood, for true stories.

The next that set up for the excellency of the

new learning above the old, were some of Gresham college, after the institution of that society by king Charles II. These began early to debate and pursue this pretence, and were followed by the French academy, who took up the controversy more at large, and descended to many particulars: Monsieur Fontenelle gave the academy the preference in poetry and oratory, as well as in philosophy and mathematics; and Monsieur Perrault, in painting and architecture, as well as oratory and poetry; setting up the bishop of Meaux against Pericles and Thucydides; the bishop of Nimes against Isocrates; F. Bourdaloue against Nicias; Balsac against Cicero; Voiture against Pliny; Boileau against Horace; and Corneille against all the ancient and famous dramatic poets.

About five or six years ago, these modern pretences were opposed in an Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning; and the Miscellanea (whereof that essay was a part) being translated into French, the members of that academy were so concerned and ashamed, that a stranger should lay such an infamy upon some of their society, as want of reverence for the ancients, and the presumption of preferring the moderns before them—that they fell into great indignation against the few criminals among them: they began to pelt them with satires and epigrams in writing, and with bitter railleries in their discourses and conversations; and led them such a life, that they soon grew weary of their new-fangled opinions, which had, perhaps, been taken up at first only to make their court, and at second hand to flatter those who flattered their king.

Upon the Miscellanea's first printing in Paris, Monsieur Boileau made this short satire:—

Quelqu'un vint l'autre jour se plaindre au Dieu des vers,
Qu'en certain lieu de l'univers
L'on traite d'auteurs froids, de poëtes steriles,
Les Homères et les Virgiles:
"Cela ne sauroit être, l'on se moque de vous,"
Reprit Apollon en courroux;
"Où peut-on avancer une telle infamie?
Est-ce chez les Hurons, chez les Topinambous?"
"C'est à Paris." "C'est donc à l'Hôpital de fous?"
"Non, c'est au Louvre, en pleine academie."

Upon the same occasion, and about the same time, Monsieur Racine made this other, which more particularly touched Monsieur Perrault, as the first did Monsieur Fontenelle.

D'où vient, que Ciceron, Platon, Virgile, Homère,
Et tous ces grands auteurs que l'univers revère,
Traduits en vos écrits, nous paroissent si sots,
Perrault? C'est qu'en prêtant à ces éspritz sublimes,
Vos façons de parler, vos bassesses, vos rimes,
Vous les fais tous paroître des Perraults.

Some of the French academy took the care to send these, and other such pieces, into England and other countries, to clear their reputation from the slander drawn upon them by two or three of their body; and treated the reverence of the ancients as something sacred, and the want of it as barbarous and profane.

Monsieur Perrault, to escape the rest of this storm, soon changed his party, professing it upon all occasions; and to show the truth of his conver-

sion, published, among other small pieces, the dialogue in Homer between Hector and Andromache, which he had translated into French, and presented to the academy March the 3d, 1693, after a speech made them upon this subject, wherein are these lines, both the verses and the speech being since printed together.

"Whatever care I have taken to praise Homer upon all occasions, and to acknowledge him for the most excellent, the vastest, and the noblest genius that has ever been in poesy; yet, because I had taken the liberty of remarking some defaults in his works, men have risen up against me, as if I had committed some high treason; and that which ought to have been regarded but as the part of a grammarian, has been taken up as an audacious enterprise, which deserved all the scorn and indignation of Parnassus.

"Now, that I may not be believed to have so ill a taste, as to be insensible of the beauties of this excellent poet, and to admire what is admirable in him, I have translated one of the finest passages of his Iliad. I thought, if the protestations I have so often made to honour the author of this poem could not persuade the world, yet this translation might do it; since it is certain that one would not take the pains to translate into French a piece of Greek poesy, unless one extremely esteemed it."

By this it appears with what indignation and scorn this new opinion of our modern admirers has been used in France, and how penitent a recantation Monsieur Perrault thought fit to make for his former errors; so as those, who have since followed and defended him or his first opinions, seem to have

been decoyed into the net by another duck, that flew away as soon as they were caught: therefore, the late objections against that essay, and in favour of the moderns, seem to have been writ without any intelligence of what passed at Paris before or about that time, having had the ill fortune to be deserted in France, and not countenanced, that I know of, in England: for the learned author of the Antediluvian World, though most concerned in that essay upon this subject, has been so far from defending this new assertion, that he has since published his Archæologia, and therein shown both his great knowledge and esteem of the ancient learning, and proved thereby, that whoever knows it must esteem it; and left such modern advocates for an evidence of the contrary, that whoever despises it, in comparison of the new, does not know it.

The modern advocates, to destroy the monuments of ancient learning, first think it necessary to show what mean contemptible men were the founders of it; and fall foul upon Pythagoras, the seven sages, Empedocles, and Democritus.

For Pythagoras, they are so gracious as to give him some quarter, and allow him to be a wiser man than the fools among whom he lived, in an ignorant age and country: in short, they are content he should pass for a lawgiver, but by no means for a philosopher. Now the good judgment shown in this wise censure of so great a man, will easily appear to all that know him. Pythagoras was indeed desired to frame the institutions of a civil state in a small town of Italy, where he lived; but that he had the misfortune to perish by a sedition in the government he had formed; so that there

remain no records or traces of any of his civil
tutions: whereas, on the other side, he h
all ages, from his own till our time, by all l
nations and persons, even Christians as well
gans, been esteemed the prince of philoso
and to have excelled in all natural and moral
ledge, as well as civil and mathematical:
him Socrates derived the principles of virt
morality; as well as Plato both these, and r
his natural speculations: nor was the men
any other philosopher so adored by all his foll
nor any of their instructions so successful in
ing the lives of the most excellent men; w
three were bred up together under a Pytha
philosopher at Thebes, who were not excel
any others of their own, nor, perhaps, succ
ages; which were Epaminondas, Pelopida
Philip of Macedon.

To discredit all the fountains from which
goras is said to have drawn his admirable
ledge, they cannot guess to what purpose he
have gone to Delphos, nor that Apollo's
esses there should have been famous for di
ing secrets in natural or mathematical matt
moral truths: in this they discover thei
knowledge of antiquity, taking the oracle
phos to have been managed by some frantic
natic wenches; whereas the Pythias ther
only engines managed by the priests of D
who, like those of Egypt, were a college or
of wise and learned men in all sorts of sci
though the use of them was in a manner
applied to the honour and service of their
and we may guess at the rest by the last

priest we know of at Delphos—I mean Plutarch—the best and most learned man of his age, if we may judge by the writings he has left: nor could it have been without the sage counsels, the wise answers, or ingenious and ambiguous evasions of these Delphic priests, that the credit of that oracle should have continued for so long a course of time, as from the age of the Argonauts (and how much before no man knows) to the latter end at least of Trajan's reign, wherein Plutarch writ: and how great the credit was, wherein that oracle was preserved by the wise conduct of their priests, may be gathered from the vast riches which were there heaped up, from the offerings of all the Grecian, and so many distant nations: for before the seizure made of the temple of Delphos by the Phocæans, they were reported by some ancient authors to have been as great as those which Alexander found in the palaces and treasuries of the kings of Persia; and it is agreed, that the Phocæans, to pay their armies in the sacred war, made bold at once with such a part of those treasures as amounted to above ten thousand talents.

I have been sometimes apt to think, from the prodigious thunders, and lightnings, and storms, by which this temple is said, in the best ancient authors, to have been defended from the Persians and the Gauls, that the priests of Delphos had some admirable knowledge of that kind which is called magical; or that they knew the use and force of gunpowder so many ages since, and reserved it, as they did the effects of all their sciences, to the service of their god: nor, if it were so, should it be stranger that such an invention should

have been found out then by the priests of Delphos, than that it was so of late by a poor German friar.

For the seven sages, who are treated like the wise men of Gotham, (and I doubt by such as are like acquainted with both) I shall say nothing in their defence, but direct the reader to the Essay itself.

For Empedocles and Democritus, I confess, the modern advocates could not have done their cause or themselves more right, than in choosing these two great men of the ancients, after Thales and Pythagoras, for the objects of their scorn; for none among them had ever so great esteem, and almost veneration, as these four. The two last were the heads or founders of the Ionic and Italic sects of philosophers; and brought not only astronomy and mathematics, but natural and moral philosophy first among the Grecians, whom we may observe, in Homer's time, to have been as barbarous as the Thracians, governed by nothing but will and passion, violence, cruelty, and sottish superstition.

Empedocles was the glory and the boast of Sicily, and of whom, his countryman Diodorus, who was most particular in the story of all that was wonderful in that island, says, that the birth of Empedocles had been glory enough to Sicily, though nothing else great or excellent had been produced there. He was an admirable poet, and thought even to have approached Homer, in a poem he writ of natural philosophy, and from which Aristotle is believed to have drawn the body of his, so much followed afterwards in the world: he first invented the art of oratory, and the rules of

it: he was an admirable physician, and stopped a plague at Agrigentum by the disposal of fires, which purged the air: he performed such cures of desperate diseases, that for this, and his foretelling many strange events, his citizens would have given him divine honours: he had so much credit in his state, that he changed the form and number of their great council, and was offered the principality of Agrigentum, but refused it, being as excellent in his morals as in all other sciences.

Democritus was the founder of that sect which made so much noise afterwards in the world, under the name of Epicurus, who owed him both his atoms and his vacuum in his natural philosophy, and his tranquillity of mind in his morals. He spent a vast patrimony in pursuit of learning, by his travels, to learn of the Magi in Chaldea, the priests in Egypt as far as those of Meroë, and the Gymnosophists of India: he was admirable in physic, in the knowledge of natural causes and events: he left many writings in all sorts of sciences, whereof one, Of the World, was sold for a hundred talents: and it is obvious to guess at the value of the rest by that of this one; for it may be presumed, with appearance enough, that what person soever has written one excellent book, will never write an ill one; as, on the other side, whoever has writ and published one foolish book, will never write a good one. If we knew nothing of Democritus, but from that excellent epistle of Hippocrates to Demagetus, with an account of the wisdom of Democritus, and the folly of the Abderites — the testimony of one so great man might have left some little respect for the other.

But this is a just return upon him, after two thousand years: Democritus laughed at the world, and our modern learned laugh at Democritus.

I think the excellency of the ancient or modern sciences may be farther concluded from the greatness and excellency of those effects that have been produced by those causes; and to this end I might be allowed to describe, or rather transcribe, out of the best ancient authors, the accounts that are left us of the walls of Babylon, with the palace and temple of Belus, built by the Assyrians; the town and fortress of Ecbatana, by the Medes; the city and palace of Persepolis, by the Persians; the pyramids and obelisks of Egypt, the temple of Vulcan there, with the lake and labyrinth of Mœris; the colossus of Rhodes; the station for two hundred gallies at Carthage, built upon two hundred arches in the sea, with galleries over them to hold their stores; the amphitheatres and aqueducts at Rome; the bridge of Trajan over the Danube; the seven towers at Byzantium, when it was taken and ruined by Severus—built with such admirable art, that any words, spoken at the first, were conveyed from one to the other till the very last, though all at distances between them.

These and many other productions of the ancients, though perhaps as little valued by the moderns as their worthies; yet, I confess, are beyond my comprehension how they could be effected, without some other mathematical skill and engines than have been since known in the world.

I might add, upon the subject of naval fabric, (wherein we seem most justly to have advantage) the two prodigious ships or gallies built, the one by

Hiero at Syracuse, and sent from thence into Egypt, wherein were not only contained all apartments for a prince's palace and attendants, but a garden with natural flowers, and fruits, and fish-ponds, and other usual ornaments of great palaces. The other was built by Ptolemy Philopater at Alexandria; and besides room for the king's court, attendants, and guards, contained four thousand men at the oar.

I might farther relate, from the most credited authors, those long and stupendous defences that were made at Tyre against all the forces of Alexander, at Rhodes against Demetrius, and at Syracuse against the Roman powers, by the sole force of mathematical skill and engines, which raised such vast weights into the air with such ease, and directed their fall with such certainty, as might have almost given credit to that bold word of Archimedes: "Give me but where to stand firm, and I will remove the earth."

But it is enough to give these instances of the wonderful effects and operations of the ancient sciences, and thereby occasion of inquiry, and I am sure entertainment, to such as are not acquainted with them.

In the mean time, since the modern advocates yield, though very unwillingly, the pre-eminence of the ancients in poetry, oratory, painting, statuary, and architecture, I shall proceed to examine the account they give of those sciences, wherein they affirm the moderns to excel the ancients; whereof they make the chief to be, the invention of instruments; chemistry, anatomy, natural history of minerals, plants, and animals; astronomy and optics; music, physic, natural philosophy,

philology, and theology; of all which I shall take a short survey.

[Here it is supposed, the knowledge of the ancients and moderns, in the sciences last mentioned, was to have been compared; but whether the author designed to have gone through such a work himself, or intended these papers only for hints to somebody else that desired them, is not known.

After which the rest was to follow, written in his own hand, as before.]

Though it may be easily conjectured, from the wonderful productions of the ancients, how great their sciences were, especially in the mathematics, which is of all other the most valuable to the use and benefit of mankind; yet we have all the testimonies besides that can be given, of the height they were at among the Egyptians, from the ingenuous confessions of the Greek authors, as well as from the voyages that were made into Egypt, Phœnicia, Babylon, and even the Indies, by those who are allowed for the greatest among the Greek lawgivers and philosophers; whereof so distinct an account has been given in that Essay of the Miscellanea (already mentioned) upon ancient and modern learning. But the modern advocates can believe nothing of it, because we know none of the records or histories of those nations remaining, but what was left us by the Greeks; and conclude the infancy of the Egyptians in other sciences, because they left no account of their own history, or the reigns of their kings.

I might content myself with what has been already made so plain in this matter, by showing how those ancient Eastern nations were generally without learning, except what was possessed by the priests, and preserved as sacred in their colleges and temples; so that, when those came to be ruined, their learning was so too. It has been also demonstrated, in the same Essay, how all the traces and memorials of learning and story may be lost in a nation by the conquest of barbarous people, great plagues, and great inundations; and, for instance, how little is known in Ireland of what is so generally believed, of learning having flourished there; and how little we should know, even of ancient Greece or Italy, or other parts of Europe and Asia, if the two learned languages of Greek and Latin had not been preserved, and continued in credit and in use, among the few pretenders to any sort of learning in those parts of the world, upon the ravages and destructions in them by the barbarous Northern nations.

But, to put this matter past dispute, I shall show more particularly when and how the ancient learning decayed in those nations where it so much flourished in the height of their empires, and fell or declined with the loss of their liberties, or subjection to new conquerors.

I will not determine from what antiquity of time learning flourished among the Egyptians or Assyrians; because these moderns will not allow the plainest accounts given us by the best Greek and Latin authors, of the duration of those empires, though not contrary to the periods allowed us by the Scriptures: but the reasons they give for not

believing them, seem too weak and frivolous to be taken notice of; as, first, that we have no account of the Assyrian kings in Scripture, till Tiglath Pileser, and others; whereas the Scripture takes no notice of the story of either Egyptians, Assyrians, Tyrians, or Sidonian governments, but as they had, at some certain times, a relation to the affairs of the Jews, or their commonwealth: and as it has never succeeded with so many learned men, that have spent their whole time and pains to agree the sacred with the profane chronology, (not to except sir John Marsham's great industry) so I never expect to see it done to any purpose. Their next reason is, because we have no account of the actions of so many Assyrian kings as are reckoned from Semiramis to Sardanapalus, they cannot conceive that their lives were passed in their palaces, and the entertainments of leisure and pleasure, during the uninterrupted felicity, as well as the vast extent of their empire, beyond the desires of increasing, or the fears of losing any part of it, while the excellent orders at first established were observed; and thereby, as well as by their princes seldom appearing out of their vast palaces and paradises, (or gardens and parks about them) the adoration of those kings was preserved among their subjects.

Now, I confess, a man of an easy and quiet temper might be allowed hardly to imagine what kings in such a posture of fortune and power should do, more than to preserve the order and quiet of their kingdoms; or how they should furnish their ages with more story, than of their magnificence in their buildings and treasures: nor do we find much more

recorded of Solomon's long and happy reign among the Jews; nor are they, in the Miscellanea, employed in gardening all that time, though the first accounts of gardening are there deduced from Assyria. But suppose those idle kings, besides the entertainments of luxury and pleasure, should have spent their time (or what lay upon their hands) in chymistry, in anatomy, in the stories of plants and animals, in optics and philology, in such speculations as the Royal Society entertain themselves and the world with, or in conversing with their Magi, or other learned men—I hope it cannot be denied, but princes might pass their lives in such entertainments, without bloody and violent actions, that make the subject of common history.

And yet who knows but many such there were too, in the course of those empires, during those ages; but the records of them lost, with their other sciences, farther than some memory and short accounts given us by the few Greek authors that we have now remaining? *Vixêre fortes ante Agamemnona.*

The ancient Assyrian learning, which had run so long a course of time, and grown to so great a height in the colleges or societies of their Magi, or Chaldeans, began to decay upon the conquest of that empire, first by the Medes, and afterwards by Cyrus and his Persians, who were then a sort of barbarous nation, that knew nothing beyond what they had learned and practised from the civil or military institutions of Cyrus, a wise lawgiver, as well as great captain, and thefeby the founder of that mighty kingdom. But the last and fatal blow given to that ancient learning, was in the

time of Darius, father of Xerxes, who, with the rest of the Persians, spited at the Magi, upon the usurpation of the crown by one of their number, that counterfeited a younger son of Cyrus, after the death of Cambyses—when he came to be settled in that throne, endeavoured to abolish, not only their learning and credit, but their language too, by changing the old Assyrian characters, and introducing those of Persia, which grew to be the common use of that whole empire.

Under the first and second race of these Persian kings, the genius of that nation being wholly military, their conquests were indeed vastly extended beyond the bounds of the Assyrian empire, by subduing Lydia, the Lesser Asia, and the whole kingdom of Egypt, which had ever been a rival of the Assyrian greatness: but during the successions of this monarchy, all learning was so lost among them, that no certain records were preserved, either of actions or of times, under the races of the Assyrian kings: so as the first period of story, which remains in any profane authors, seems to begin with Cyrus; and all before his birth is so obscure, so variously reported, or so mingled with fable and truth, that no sound or certain judgment can be fixed upon them, whatever pains have been employed to reconcile them. For all other sciences, they were in a manner extinguished during the course of this empire, excepting only a smatter of judicial astrology, by which, under the name of Chaldeans, some of that race long amused ignorant and credulous people.

But upon the sun-set of this ancient Assyrian learning, it began to dawn in Greece, with the

growth and flourishing of the Athenian state, by whose navigations and traffic several noble wits among them, and the rest of the Grecians, entered into commerce with the Egyptians and Phœnicians; and from them, or their priests, drew the first rudiments of those sciences which they brought into Greece, and by which they grew so renowned in their own and after ages: such were Solon, Pythagoras, Democritus, Plato, and many others; whose lives and voyages into those Eastern regions we are less acquainted with, by the loss of so many books, and the injuries of devouring time.

The learning of the Egyptians, whenever it began, continued in great height and admiration of their neighbours, till the reign of Nectanebus; when, after a revolt of the Egyptians from the Persian empire, which lasted and prospered in two or three kings' reigns, one of the Artaxerxes subdued Egypt; and this last of the Egyptian kings reduced the whole kingdom to the Persian obedience: but, enraged at their rebellion and obstinate resistance, executed his conquest with such rage, that, besides infinite slaughters, he razed many of their cities, and the walls of them all; ruined their temples, destroyed or dispersed their priests, and the archives or records of those famous colleges; and whatever of them he thought fit to preserve, he carried away with him into Persia.

This happened during the reign of Philip of Macedon, and gave a fatal period to the ancient Egyptian learning and sciences: after which time, we know of no voyages made by the Greek philosophers into Egypt upon that search; but Plato was the last of renown that undertook that voyage,

who lived, and was in Egypt, not long before this cruel revolution.

It is true, the Grecian races of kings, afterwards in Egypt, called Ptolemies, during the quiet and felicity of many reigns, endeavoured all they could the restoration of learning among them, by countenance and all sorts of encouragement to their priests that remained, and by the collection of that vast library at Alexandria: but the learning and science of the old Egyptian priests was never recovered; and that professed by the new was turned to superstition and mystery; initiations and expiations, the procuring or foretelling events by mystical sacrifices or magical operations—which lasted indeed to Adrian's time, but without credit or esteem among the wiser part of the world.

The same, or rather a greater desolation than that of Egypt in the time of Nectanebus, was made of the Sidonians, and their whole city and territory, by the same Artaxerxes, in his passage from Persia to Egypt, upon the rebellion of that city: the like happened to Tyre, upon the cruel conquest by Alexander the Great of that famous city: (though the ancient Tyre that stood upon the continent had been ruined long before) and, with the ruin of those two, perished the Phœnician learning, which had flourished there for so many ages; and no account left us of them, besides what remains in the very few ancient Greek or Latin books that are preserved among us: how few they are, indeed, may be very justly bewailed, the compass of them extending but from the time of Hippocrates to that of Marcus Antoninus, which was about four hundred years; and yet the number of those written in that period, and

preserved to our age, is more to be deplored. But I shall not enter into search of the causes or times of the loss of so many of the rest, as we find mentioned by Diodorus, Origen, Athenæus, or others, whereof some were not long before Constantine: and it is recorded, that the young emperor Gordian was so great a lover of learning, that, in his short reign, he collected a library of sixty-two thousand volumes; but what became of them, or when so many monuments of the ancient learning were lost, I cannot undertake to find out: only it is certain, that besides infinite numbers of Greek histories and poets, those of all the several sects of philosophers are lost, besides what has been preserved of Plato and Aristotle.

I cannot but take notice how hardly the modern advocates part with their own concessions to the ancients, in poetry and eloquence; and upon what judicious grounds they detract from them in the first, and contest with them in the other.

They allow, indeed, the sweetness of the Greek poetry to be inimitable, but attribute it wholly to the language, and the sounds and syllables that compose it. They might as well say, the excellence of picture comes from the beauty of the colours, and of statuary from the fineness of the marble; whereas a common hand, with the finest colours in the world, can paint nothing better than a sign-post; and the drawing of a hand, in black and white, may be of ten times more art and value, as well as beauty, than a common picture, though never so finely coloured. It is the same thing in poetry: the language is but the colouring; it is the conception, the invention, the judgment, that

give the life and spirit, as well as beauty an
to a poem: and I desire to know whether
the Greek poets, that writ after the end of Pt
race in Egypt, are at all comparable to tho
writ before: yet we have but too many of the
us to make the comparison.

Upon the subject of eloquence, they will
it, that Padre Paolo's Council of Trent, and
mines' Memoirs, are equal to Herodotus and L
and so would Strada be too, if he were but im
tial: this is very wonderful, if it be not a jest;
Padre Paolo, he must be allowed for the grea
genius of his age, and, perhaps, of all the n
derns, as appears in his other writings, as well
the Council of Trent; which is, indeed, no histo
of any great actions, but only an account of a lo
and artificial negotiation between the court an
prelates of Rome, and those of other Christia
princes: so that I do not see how it can properly b
styled a history, the subject whereof are great ac
tions and revolutions: and, by all the ancient cri-
tics upon history, the first part of the excellence of
an historian is the choice of a noble and great sub-
ject, that may be worth his pains.

For Philip de Comines, none ever called it a hi-
story, nor he himself other than Memoirs: nor does
either the subject deserve it, or the author; who is
valued only for his great truth of relation, and sim-
plicity of style.

There are three, which I do not conceive well,
how they can be brought into the number of sci-
ences; which are, chemistry, philology, and di-
vinity.

For that part of chemistry which is conversant in

discovering and extracting the virtue of metals or other minerals, or of any simples that are employed with success for health or medicine, it is a study that may be of much use and benefit to mankind, and is certainly the most diverting amusement to those that pursue it: but for the other part, which is applied to the transmutation of metals, and the search of the philosopher's stone; which has enchanted, not to say turned, so many brains in the latter ages—though some men cannot comprehend, how there should have been so much smoke, for so many ages in the world about it, without some fire—it is easy, I think, to conceive, that there has been a great deal of fire, without producing any thing but smoke. If it be a science, it is certainly one of the liberal ones; for the professors or followers of it have spent more money upon it than those of all other sciences together; and more than they will ever recover, without the philosopher's stone. Whether they are now any nearer than they were when they began, I do not know; nor could ever find it determined among wise and learned men, whether alchymy were any thing more than a wild vision or imagination of some shattered heads, or else a practice of knaves upon fools, as well as sometimes of fools upon themselves: for however Borrichius, or any others, may attribute the vast expenses of the pyramids, and treasures of Solomon, to the philosopher's stone, I am apt to believe, none ever yet had it, except it were Midas, and his possession seems a little discredited by his ass's ears; and I wish the pursuit of many others may not fall under the same prejudice. For my own part, I confess, I have always looked upon

alchymy in natural philosophy, to l
in divinity, and to have troubled
the same purpose: and I should a
study of Rosicrucian philosophy,
a nymph or a sylph for a wife or
the elixir for my health, or philo
my fortune.

It is not so difficult to compre
folly should last so long in the w
out any ground in nature or in
considers how the pagan religion
ages, with such general opini
which yet all now confess to
but an illusion or a dream, wit
cunning priests upon the credu
people: which seems to have be
modern science; for ancient it
all that I know of.

For philology, I know not we
it; and less, how it came into
ences: if it be only criticism up
and languages, he must be a
make those moderns, with the
glossaries, and annotations, mo
authors themselves in their own
as the subjects they treat.

I must confess, that the cri
scholars I am very little acquai
always esteemed them but like
ving no stock of their own, set u
of other men; buying here, and
commonly abusing both sides, t
paltry gain, either of money or o
selves, and care not at whose

design of these kind of writers, after the restoration of learning in these western parts, was to be commended, and of much use and entertainment to the age: it is to them we owe the editions of all the ancient authors; the best translations of many out of Greek; the restoring of the old copies, maimed with time or negligence; the correcting of others mistaken in the transcribing; the explaining places obscure, in an age so ignorant of the style and customs of the ancients; and, in short, endeavouring to recover those old jewels out of the dust and rubbish wherein they had been so long lost or soiled, to restore them to their native lustre, and make them appear in their true light.

This made up the merit and value of the critics for the first hundred years; and deserved both praise and thanks of the age, and the rewards of princes, as well as the applause of common scholars, which they generally received: but since they have turned their vein to debase the credit and value of the ancients, and raise their own above those to whom they owe all the little they know; and instead of true wit, sense, or genius, to display their own proper colours of pride, envy, or detraction, in what they write; to trouble themselves and the world with vain niceties and captious cavils about words and syllables, in the judgment of style; about hours and days, in the account of ancient actions or times; about antiquated names of persons or places, with many such worthy trifles; and all this, to find some occasion of censuring and defaming such writers as are, or have been, most esteemed in the world, raking into slight wounds

where they find any, or scratching till they make some where there were none before—there is, I think, no sort of talent so despisable, as that of such common critics, who can at best pretend but to value themselves by discovering the defaults of other men, rather than any worth or merit of their own: a sort of levellers, that will needs equal the best or richest of the country, not by improving their own estates, but reducing those of their neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themselves. The truth is, there has been so much written of this kind of stuff, that the world is surfeited with the same things over and over, or old common notions new dressed, and, perhaps, embroidered.

For divinity, wherein they give the moderns such a preference above the ancients, they might as well have made them excel in the knowledge of our common law, or of the English tongue; since our religion was as little known to the ancient sages and philosophers, as our language or our laws: and I cannot but wonder, that any divine should so much debase religion or true divinity, as to introduce them thus preposterously into the number of human sciences; whereas they came first to the Jews, and afterwards to the first Christians, by immediate revelation or instruction from God himself: thus Abraham learned, that there was but one true God; and, in pursuit of that belief, contrary to the opinion of the learned Chaldeans, among whom he lived, was content to forsake his own country, and come into Palestine: so Moses was instructed to know God more particularly; and admitted both

to see his glory, and to learn his name, Jehovah, and to institute from Heaven the whole religion of the Jews: so the prophets, under the Old Testament, were taught to know the will of God, and thereby to instruct the people in it; and enabled to prophesy, and do miracles, for a testimony of their being truly sent from Heaven: so our blessed Saviour came into the world to show the will of his Father; to teach his precepts and commands: and so his apostles, and their disciples, were inspired by the Holy Ghost for the same ends: and all other theology in the world, in how learned nations and ages soever it flourished, yet ended in gross superstition and idolatry; so that human learning seems to have very little to do with true divinity; but, on the contrary, to have turned the Gentiles into false notions of the Deity; and even to have misguided the Jews and the Christians into the first sects and heresies that we find among them.

We know of little learning among the Jews, besides that of Moses and of Solomon, till after the captivity, in which their priests grew acquainted with the language and learning of the Chaldeans; but this was soon lost, in such a broken state as theirs was, after their return to such a ruined city and desolate country; and so often persecuted by the credit of their enemies at the Persian court. The learning, which afterwards we find among the Jews, came in with the Grecian empire, that introduced their learning and language, with their conquest, into Judea: before this, there were no divisions or sects among the Jews, but of such as followed the true prophets or the false, and wor-

shipped God or Baal. With the Grecian language and learning, entered their philosophy; and out of this arose the two great sects of Pharisees and Sadducees: the Pharisees, in all opinions which they could any way conform to their own worship or institutions, followed the philosophy of Plato; the Sadducees, of Epicurus: the first professed the strictest rules of virtue and vice; the hopes and fears of rewards and punishments in another world; the existence of angels and spirits separate from bodies: but the Sadducees believed little or nothing of any of these, farther than to cover themselves from the hatred and persecution of the other sect, which was the most popular.

For that rabbinnical learning that is pretended by the Jews to have begun so long before the captivity, and to have continued by tradition down to the time of the Talmud; I must confess that, notwithstanding the credit has been given to it, and all the legends introduced by it in the last age, I cannot find any traces of it which seem at all clear beyond the time of the last dispersion of the Jews, in the reign of Adrian, or the first, in that of Vespasian; and how little the Jews have gained by all this learning of their Rabbins, how ancient or modern soever, I leave to others to consider and determine, who have more esteem for it than I.

For Christianity, it came into the world, and so continued in the first age, without the least pretence of learning and knowledge, with the greatest simplicity of thought and language, as well as life and manners; holding forth nothing but piety, charity, and humility, with the belief of the Messias and of his kingdom; which appears to be the

main scope of the Gospel, and of the preaching of the apostles; and to have been almost concealed from the wise and the learned, as well as the mighty and the noble; by both which sorts it was either derided or persecuted.

The first that made any use of learning were the primitive fathers of the second age, only to confute the idolatrous worship of the heathens, and their plurality of gods; endeavouring to evince the being of one God, and immortality of the soul, out of some of their own ancient authors, both poets and philosophers, especially out of the writers of the Platonic sect, and the verses of Orpheus and the Sibyls, which then passed for genuine, though they have since by the moderns been questioned, if not exploded: thus Minutius Felix, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, made use of the learning of such as were then ancient to them, and thereby became champions of the Christian faith against the Gentiles, by force of their own weapons.

After the third century, and upon the rise of the Arian and other heresies in the Christian church, their learning seems chiefly to have been employed in the defence of the several opinions professed by the Orthodox or the Arians, the Western or the Eastern churches, and so to have long continued, by the frequent rise of so many heresies in the church.

And I doubt, this kind of learning has been but too great, and made too much use of, upon all the divisions of Christendom, since the restoration of learning in these western parts of the world: yet

this very polemical learning has been chiefly employed to prove their several opinions to be most agreeable to those of the ancient fathers, and the institutions of the primitive times, which must needs give the preference to the ancients above the moderns in divinity, since we cannot pretend to know more of what they knew and practised than themselves: and I did as little believe that any divine in England would compare himself or his learning with those fathers, as that any of our physicians would theirs with Hippocrates, or our mathematicians with Archimedes.

One would think that the modern advocates, after having confounded all the ancients, and all that esteem them, might have been contented; but one of them, I find, will not be satisfied to condemn the rest of the world without applauding himself; and therefore, falling into a rapture upon the contemplation of his own wonderful performance, he tells us, "Hitherto, in the main, I please myself, that there cannot be much said against what I have asserted," &c.

I wonder a divine, upon such an occasion, should not at least have had as much grace as a French lawyer in Montagne, who, after a dull tedious argument, that had wearied the court and the company, when he went from the bar, was heard muttering to himself, *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis:* but this writer, rather like the proud Spaniard, that would not have St. Lawrence's patience upon the gridiron ascribed to the grace of God, but only to the true Spanish valour—will not have his own perfections and excellences owing to any

thing else but the true force of his own modern learning; and thereupon he falls into this sweet ecstasy of joy, wherein I shall leave him till he come to himself.

The whole cause, between the pretensions of ancient and modern learning, will be the best decided by the comparison of the persons and the things that have been produced under the institutions and discipline of the one or the other.

I leave that of persons to the observation of the present or last age, to which, it seems, the modern pretences are confined; and to the accounts given us by the best Roman and Greek historians, of what great spirits, both princes and generals, as well as lawgivers and philosophers, have been formed under the doctrine and discipline of the ancient sciences; and to the characters of Epaminondas, Agesilaus, Alcibiades, Philip of Macedon, the two Scipios, Julius Cæsar, Trajan, Marcus Antoninus, and several others; and of the noble and transcendent virtues and heroic qualities of these and such other ancients most renowned in story; their fortitude, their justice, their prudence, their temperance, their magnanimity, their clemency, their love to their country, and the sacrifice they made of their lives, or, at least, of their ease and quiet, to the service thereof; their eminent virtues, both civil and military, by which they gained such famous victories over their enemies, such passionate love from their own countries, and such admiration of all men, both in their own and succeeding ages.

For things to be considered, they must be such as have been either of general use or pleasure to

mankind. In those of pleasure, as poetry, picture, statuary, eloquence, architecture, the point is yielded by the moderns; and must of necessity be so by any man that reads the descriptions of those ancient fabrics mentioned before, all in a breath, which were and will be the wonders of the world. Among other testimonies of their wit and science, in their inventions of pleasure, one might observe, that their very luxury was learned, in the disposition, order, and variety of their feasts; so contrived, as to entertain, not only all the senses, but the imagination and intellectuals too; by perfumes, music, mimic, both dumb and vocal; short scenes and representations; buffooneries, or comical disputes to divert the company, and deceive as well as divide the time; besides more serious and philosophical discourses, arguments, and recitations.

But, above all others, they were most wonderful in their shows, or *spectacula*, exhibited so often at Rome, to entertain the people in general, first by their sediles and consuls, and afterwards by their emperors; not to speak of the magnificence and order of their theatres and triumphs. It is strange how such thoughts could so much as enter into any man's head, to derive, of a sudden, so much water into the midst of a town or field, as might represent a sea upon dry ground, bring ships or gallies rowing into it, and order an absolute sea-battle to be fought upon the land: at another time, to plant a vast wood of great and green trees in a plain field, all enclosed and replenished with all sorts of wild beasts, for the people to hunt, to kill, and to eat next day at their feasts; and the day

after, all this to disappear, as if it had only been an apparition, or raised by enchantment. Such sort of achievements among the ancients, and such effects of their admirable science and genius in the invention and disposition of them, seem as difficult for us, in these ages, to comprehend, as for them to execute.

Now, for things of general use to mankind—they are the productions of agriculture, physic, and legislature, or political orders and institutions.

For the first—we owe them all to the ancients, who were the inventors of all arts necessary to life and sustenance, as ploughing, sowing, planting, and conserving the fruits of the earth to a longer season. All sorts of grain, wine, oil, honey, cheese, are the most ancient inventions, and not at all improved by the moderns.

For physic, I leave it to be compared in the books and practice of Hippocrates, Galen, and the ancient Arabians, who followed their rules and methods, with those of Paracelsus, and his chemical followers.

For political institutions, that tend to the preservation of mankind by civil governments, it is enough to mention those of Cyrus, Theseus, Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus, Charondas, Romulus, Numa Pompilius, besides the more ancient institutions of the Assyrian and Egyptian governments and laws; wherein may be observed such a reach of thought, such depth of wisdom, and such force of genius, as the presumption and flattery itself of our age will hardly pretend to parallel, by any of our modern civil institutions.

I know not why a very good reason, for the great

advantage of ancient above modern
not be justly drawn from the force an
climates where they have grown; an
gions of Assyria, Phœnicia, Egypt, th
Greece, Rome, and especially China
allowed to produce naturally greate
and genius, of invention and pene
England, Holland, or the northern p
and Germany, to which all our mo
seems to have been confined: nor d
the mighty progress of sciences in th
may not, in a great measure, be asc
long peace and flourishing condition
cient empires, wherein the Magi an
so much honoured of old; and also t
of thought and inquiry in the Grecia
republics, wherein the ancient philo
so much esteemed: nor is it strange,
ing should have been extinguished i
regions, by the conquest of barbarous
those violent governments which ha
them, nor that the progress of it shou
by the perpetual wars and distractio
infested Europe, ever since the fall
empire made way for so many several
doms or governments in this part
where learning pretends to be so muc

The greatest modern inventions see
of the loadstone and gunpowder:
whereof navigation must be allowed
much improved and extended; and b
art military, both at sea and land,
wholly changed: yet it is agreed, I th
Chineses have had the knowledge an

powder many ages before it came into Europe: and besides, both these have not served for any common or necessary use to mankind; one having been employed for their destruction, not their preservation; and the other, only to feed their avarice, or increase their luxury: nor can we say that they are the inventions of this age, wherein learning and knowledge are pretended to be so wonderfully increased and advanced.

What has been produced for the use, benefit, or pleasure of mankind, by all the airy speculations of those who have passed for the great advancers of knowledge and learning these last fifty years, (which is the date of our modern pretenders) I confess I am yet to seek, and should be very glad to find. I have indeed heard of wondrous pretensions and visions of men, possessed with notions of the strange advancement of learning and sciences on foot in this age, and the progress they are like to make in the next: as, the universal medicine, which will certainly cure all that have it; the philosopher's stone, which will be found out by men that care not for riches; the transfusion of young blood into old men's veins, which will make them as gamesome as the lambs from which it is to be derived; an universal language, which may serve all men's turn, when they have forgot their own; the knowledge of one another's thoughts, without the grievous trouble of speaking; the art of flying, till a man happens to fall down and break his neck; double-bottomed ships, whereof none can be ever cast away, besides the first that was made; the admirable virtues of that noble and necessary juice called spittle, which will come to be sold and very

cheap, in the apothecaries' shops; discoveries of new worlds in the planets, and voyages between this and that in the moon, to be made as frequently as between York and London; which such poor mortals as I am, think as wild as those of Ariosto, but without half so much wit, or so much instruction; for there these modern sages may know where they may hope in time to find their lost senses, preserved in phials, with those of Orlando.

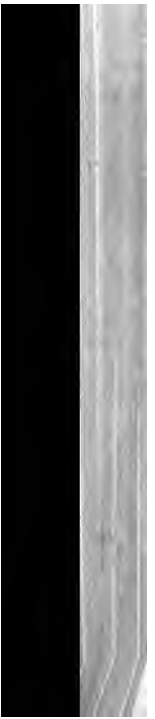
One great difference must be confessed between the ancient and modern learning: theirs led them to a sense and acknowledgment of their own ignorance, the imbecillity of human understanding, the incomprehension even of things about us, as well as those above us; so as the most sublime wits among the ancients ended in their Ακαταληψια: ours leads us to presumption, and vain ostentation of the little we have learned; and makes us think we do, or shall know, not only all natural, but even what we call supernatural things; all in the heavens, as well as upon earth; more than all mortal men have known before our age; and shall know in time as much as angels.

Socrates was, by the Delphic oracle, pronounced the wisest of all men, because he professed that he knew nothing. What would the oracle have said of a man that pretends to know every thing? Pliny the elder, and most learned of all the Romans whose writings are left, concludes the uncertainty and weakness of human knowledge with, *Constat igitur, inter tanta incerta, nihil esse certi; præterquam hominem, nec miserius quidquam nec superbius.* But, sure, our modern learned, and especially the divines of that sect among whom it seems this dis-

ease is spread, and who will have the world "to be ever improving, and that nothing is forgotten that ever was known among mankind"—must themselves have forgotten that humility and charity are the virtues which run through the scope of the Gospel; and one would think they never had read, or at least never minded, the first chapter of Ecclesiastes, which is allowed to have been written, not only by the wisest of men, but even by divine inspiration, where Solomon tells us—

"The thing that has been is that which shall be, and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there any thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It has been already of old time, which was before us: there is no remembrance of former things; neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after."

These, with many other passages in that admirable book, were enough, one would think, to humble and mortify the presumption of our modern Sciolists, if their pride were not as great as their ignorance, or if they knew the rest of the world any better than they know themselves.



THE COUNTESS OF

UPON

HER GRIEF,

OCCASIONED BY THE LOSS OF HER ON

Sheen,

THE honour I received by a letter fr
ship, was too great and too sensibl
knowledged; but yet I doubted wh
casion could bear me out in the confi
your ladyship any farther troubles
without as good an errand as my last
reckoned upon a good while, by an
sister and I had designed to my lord
we came to have deferred it so long,
neither of us like to tell you at
though we make ourselves believe i
helped. Your ladyship, at least, ha
vantage of being thereby excused so
this trouble, which I could no longer
the sensible wounds that have so ofte
given your friends here by such desp

sions in several of your letters concerning your humour, your health, and your life; in all which, if they are your friends, you must allow them to be extremely concerned. Perhaps, none can be at heart more partial than I am to whatever touches your ladyship, nor more inclined to defend you upon this very occasion, how unjust and unkind soever you are to yourself: but when you go about to throw away your health, or your life, so great a remainder of your own family, and so great hopes of that into which you are entered, and all by a desperate melancholy, upon an accident past remedy, and to which all mortal race is perpetually subject; for God's sake, madam, give me leave to tell you, that what you do is not at all agreeable either with so good a Christian, or so reasonable and so great a person, as your ladyship appears to the world in all other lights.

I know no duty in religion more generally agreed on, nor more justly required by God Almighty, than a perfect submission to his will in all things; nor do I think any disposition of mind can either please him more, or become us better, than that of being satisfied with all he gives, and contented with all he takes away. None, I am sure, can be of more honour to God, nor of more ease to ourselves; for if we consider him as our Maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our Father, we ought not to distrust him; so that we may be confident, whatever he does is intended for good, and whatever happens that we interpret otherwise, yet we can get nothing by repining, nor save any thing by resisting.

But if it were fit for us to reason with God Al-

mighty, and your ladyship's loss be
as great as it could have been to
yet, I doubt, you would have but ill
plain at the rate you have done, or
do: for the first motions or passions
soever, may be pardoned; and it is o
of them which makes them inexcus
world, madam, there is nothing pe
and whatever is called so, is but eit
tively with other things of its kind, o
evil that is mingled in its compositic
good man that is better than men com
in whom the good qualities are more
so, in the course of life, his conditio
good, which is better than that of mo
or wherein the good circumstances a
the ill. By this measure, I doubt,
complaints ought to be turned into
ments, and your friends would have ca
rather than condole with you: for
blessings of life are usually esteeme
health, beauty, friends, children, h
Now, when your ladyship has fairly co
God Almighty has dealt with you in
given you of all these, you may be
yourself how you have dealt with him
plaints for what he has taken away
look about you, and consider other li
your own, and what your lot is in con
those that have been drawn in the
knowledge; if you think how few a
honour, how many die without name
how little beauty we see, how few fri
of, how many diseases, and how much

is in the world—you will fall down upon your knees, and, instead of repining at one affliction, will admire so many blessings as you have received at the hand of God.

To put your ladyship in mind of what you are, and the advantages you have in all these points, would look like a design to flatter you: but this I may say; that we will pity you as much as you please, if you will tell us who they are that you think, upon all circumstances, you have reason to envy. Now, if I had a master that gave me all I could ask, but thought fit to take one thing from me again, either because I used it ill, or gave myself so much over to it, as to neglect what I owed either to him or the rest of the world; or, perhaps, because he would show his power, and put me in mind from whom I held all the rest; would you think I had much reason to complain of hard usage, and never to remember any more what was left me, never to forget what was taken away?

It is true you have lost a child, and therein all that could be lost in a child of that age; but you have kept one child, and are likely to do so long; you have the assurance of another, and the hopes of many more: you have kept a husband, great in employment and in fortune, and (which is more) in the esteem of good men: you have kept your beauty and your health, unless you have destroyed them yourself, or discouraged them to stay with you by using them ill: your have friends that are as kind to you as you can wish, or as you can give them leave to be, by their fears of losing you, and being thereby so much the unhappier, the kinder

they are to you: but you have honour from all that know you; or if ever it degree, it is only upon that point of to be fallen out with God and the whol neither to care for yourself, or any thi what you have lost.

You will say, perhaps, that one thi you, and your fondness of it made yo to every thing else; but this, I doub far from justifying you, that it will pro fault as well as your misfortune. G gave you all the blessings of life, and heart wholly upon one, and despise o all the rest: is this his fault or yours? to be very unthankful to Heaven, as scornful to the rest of the world? say, because you have lost one thin given, you thank him for nothing he care not what he takes away? Is it not that one thing is gone out of the wo nothing left in it which you think can kindness or esteem? A friend make and sets all before me that his care could provide; but I set my heart up alone, and if that happen to be thro scorn all the rest; and though he send of the same, yet I rise from the table i say my friend is my enemy, and has greatest wrong in the world: have I rea or good grace in what I do? or would better to eat of the rest that is before n no more of what had happened, and remedied?

All the precepts of Christianity agree to teach and command us to moderate our passions, to temper our affections towards all things below; to be thankful for the possession, and patient under the loss, whenever he that gave shall see fit to take away. Your extreme fondness was perhaps as displeasing to God before, as now your extreme affliction; and your loss may have been a punishment for your faults in the manner of enjoying what you had. It is, at least, pious to ascribe all the ill that befalls us to our own demerits, rather than to injustice in God; and it becomes us better to adore all the issues of his providence in the effects, than inquire into the causes: for submission is the only way of reasoning between a creature and its Maker; and contentment in his will is the greatest duty we can pretend to, and the best remedy we can apply to all our misfortunes.

But, madam, though religion were no party in your case, and that, for so violent and injurious a grief, you had nothing to answer to God, but only to the world and yourself; yet I very much doubt how you would be acquitted. We bring into the world with us a poor, needy, uncertain life, short at the longest, and unquiet at the best; all the imaginations of the witty and the wise have been perpetually busied to find out the ways how to revive it with pleasures, or relieve it with diversions; how to compose it with ease, and settle it with safety. To some of these ends have been employed the institutions of lawgivers, the reasonings of philosophers, the inventions of poets, the pains of labouring, and the extravagances of voluptuous

men. All the world is perpetually
nothing else, but only that our pc
should pass the easier and happier
time we possess them, or else end
we lose them: upon this occasion, r
coveted, honours to be esteemed,
love to be pursued, and virtues them
mired in the world. Now, madam,
defiance to all mankind, to condemn
opinions and designs, if, instead
life as well and easily, you resolve
and as miserably as you can? You
to the conveniences of riches, the
nour and praise, the charms of kin
ship—nay, to the observance or app
themselves; for who can you expe
cesses of passions, will allow you
temperance or fortitude, to be eit
just? and for your friends, I supp
upon losing their kindness, when
ficiently convinced them they can
any of yours, since you have none
or any thing else. You declare, upo
you are incapable of receiving any c
sure in any thing that is left in thi
assure you, madam, none can ever
can have no hopes ever to please yo

Among the several inquiries and e
the happiness of life, the sensual me
suit of every pleasure they can sta
garding the pains of the chase, the
it ends, or how little the quarry
busy and ambitious fall into the mo

suits of power and riches: the speculative men prefer tranquillity of mind, before the different motions of passion and appetite, or the common successions of desire and satiety, of pleasure and pain: but this may seem too dull a principle for the happiness of life, which is ever in motion; and though passions are perhaps the stings, without which they say no honey is made—yet I think all sorts of men have ever agreed, they ought to be our servants, and not our masters; to give us some agitation for entertainment or exercise, but never to throw our reason out of its seat. Perhaps I would not always sit still, or would be sometimes on horseback; but I would never ride a horse that galls my flesh, or shakes my bones, or that runs away with me as he pleases, so as I can neither stop at a river or precipice. Better no passions at all, than have them too violent, or such alone as, instead of heightening our pleasures, afford us nothing but vexation and pain.

In all such losses as your ladyship's has been, there is something that common nature cannot be denied; there is a great deal that good nature may be allowed; but all excessive and outrageous grief or lamentation for the dead was accounted, among the ancient Christians, to have something of heathenish, and among the civil nations of old, to have something of barbarous; and, therefore, it has been the care of the first to moderate it by their precepts, and the latter to restrain it by their laws. The longest time that has been allowed to the forms of mourning, by the custom of any country, and in any relation, has been but that of a year;

in which space, the body is commonly supposed to be mouldered away to earth, and to retain no more figure of what it was; but this has been given only to the loss of parents, of husband, or wife: on the other side, to children under age, nothing has been allowed; and I suppose with particular reason; (the common ground of all general customs) perhaps, because they die in innocence, and without having tasted the miseries of life; so as we are sure they are well when they leave us, and escape much ill, which would, in all appearance, have befallen them, if they had stayed longer with us. Besides, a parent may have twenty children, and so his mourning may run through all the best of his life, if his losses are frequent of that kind; and our kindness to children so young is taken to proceed from common opinions, or fond imaginations—not friendship or esteem; and to be grounded upon entertainment, rather than use, in the many offices of life: nor would it pass from any person besides your ladyship, to say you lost a companion and a friend at nine years old, though you lost one, indeed, who gave the fairest hopes that could be, of being both in time, and every thing else that was estimable and good: but yet, that itself, God only knows, considering the changes of humour and disposition, which are as great as those of feature and shape, the first sixteen years of our lives; considering the chances of time, the infection of company, the snares of the world, and the passions of youth; so that the most excellent and agreeable creature of that tender age, and that seemed born under the happiest stars—might, by the course of years and acci-

lents, come to be the most miserable herself, and nore trouble to her friends by living long, than she ould have been by dying young.

Yet after all, madam, I think your loss so great, nd some measure of your grief so deserved, that ould all your passionate complaints, all the an- uish of your heart, do any thing to retrieve it; ould tears water the lovely plant, so as to make it row again after once it is cut down; would sighs urnish new breath, or could it draw life and spirits rom the wasting of yours; I am sure your friends ould be so far from accusing your passion, that hey would encourage it as much, and share it as leep, as they could. But alas! the eternal laws of he creation extinguish all such hopes; forbid all uch designs: Nature gives us many children and riends to take them away, but takes none away to ive them us again. And this makes the excesses f grief to have been so universally condemned as a hing unnatural, because so much in vain; whereas Nature, they say, does nothing in vain: as a thing o unreasonable, because so contrary to our own lesigns; for we all design to be well, and at ease; nd by grief we make ourselves ill of imaginary ounds, and raise ourselves troubles most properly ut of the dust, whilst our ravings and complaints re but like arrows shot up into the air, at no mark, nd so to no purpose, but only to fall back upon ur heads, and destroy ourselves, instead of recover- ng or revenging our friends.

Perhaps, madam, you will say this is your design, r, if not, your desire; but I hope you are not yet o far gone, or so desperately bent: your ladyship knows very well your life is not your own, but His

that lent it you to manage, and preserve the best you could, and not throw it away as if it came from some common hand. It belongs in a great measure to your country, and your family; and therefore, by all human laws, as well as divine, self-murder has ever been agreed upon as the greatest crime, and is punished here with the utmost shame, which is all that can be inflicted upon the dead. But is the crime much less to kill ourselves by a slow poison, than by a sudden wound? Now, if we do it, and know we do it, by a long and a continual grief, can we think ourselves innocent? What great difference is there if we break our hearts, or consume them; if we pierce them, or bruise them; since all determines in the same death, as all arises from the same despair? But what if it goes not so far? it is not indeed so bad as might be, but that does not excuse it from being very ill: though I do not kill my neighbour, is it no hurt to wound him, or to spoil him of the conveniences of life? The greatest crime is for a man to kill himself; is it a small one to wound himself by anguish of heart, by grief, or despair; to ruin his health, to shorten his age, to deprive himself of all the pleasures, or eases, or enjoyments of life?

Next to the mischiefs we do ourselves are those we do our children and our friends, as those who deserve best of us, or at least deserve no ill. The child you carry about you, what has that done that you should endeavour to deprive it of life almost as soon as you bestow it? or if, at the best, you suffer it to live to be born, yet, by your ill usage of yourself, should so much impair the strength of its body and health, and perhaps the very temper of its mind,

by giving it such an infusion of melancholy, as may serve to discolour the objects, and disrelish the accidents it may meet with in the common train of life? But this is one you are not yet acquainted with; what will you say to another you are? Were it a small injury to my lord Capel to deprive him of a mother, from whose prudence and kindness he may justly expect the cares of his health and education, the forming of his body, and the cultivating of his mind; the seeds of honour and virtue, and thereby the true principles of a happy life? How has my lord of Essex deserved that you should go about to lose him a wife he loves with so much passion, and, which is more, with so much reason; so great an honour and support to his family, so great a hope to his fortune, and comfort to his life? Are there so many left of your own great family, that you should desire in a manner wholly to reduce it, by suffering the greatest and almost last branch of it to wither away before its time? or is your country in this age so stored with great persons, that you should envy it those we may justly expect from so noble a race?

Whilst I had any hopes your tears would ease you, or that your grief would consume itself by liberty and time, your ladyship knows very well I never once accused it, nor ever increased it, like many others, by the common formal ways of assuaging it; and this, I am sure, is the first office of this kind I ever went about to perform, otherwise than in the most ordinary forms. I was in hope what was so violent could not be so long; but when I observed it to grow stronger with age, and increase, like a stream, the farther it ran; when I saw it draw out

to such unhappy consequences, and threaten no less than your child, your health, and your life—I could no longer forbear this endeavour, nor end it without begging of your ladyship, for God's sake and for your own, for your children and your friends, for your country's and your family's, that you would no longer abandon yourself to so disconsolate a passion; but that you would at length awaken your piety, give way to your prudence, or, at least, rouse up the invincible spirit of the Percies, that never yet shrunk at any disaster; that you would sometimes remember the great honours and fortunes of your family, not always the losses; cherish those veins of good humour that are sometimes so natural to you, and sear up those of ill, that would make you so unnatural to your children and to yourself: but, above all, that you would enter upon the cares of your health and your life, for your friends' sake at least, if not for your own. For my part, I know nothing could be to me so great an honour and satisfaction, as if your ladyship would own me to have contributed towards this cure: but, however, none can perhaps more justly pretend to your pardon for the attempt, since there is none, I am sure, that has always had at heart a greater honour for your ladyship's family, nor can have for your person more devotion and esteem, than,

Madam,

Your ladyship's most obedient
And most humble servant.

HEADS DESIGNED FOR

AN ESSAY

UPON

THE DIFFERENT CONDITIONS

OF

LIFE AND FORTUNE.

ETHER a good condition with fear of being ill, an ill with hope of being well, pleases or diases most.

The good of wisdom, as it most conduces to happess.

The effect of happiness best discovered by good nour and satisfaction within.

Difference between being satisfied and content.

The value of virtue double, as of coin; one of mp, which consists in the esteem of it; the other rinsic, as most contributing to the good of pri-e life and public society.

Against Rochefoucault's reflexions upon virtue—Qu'elle n'ira pas loin, si elle n'est soutenue par la ilté."

A man's wisdom, his best friend; folly, his worst my.

No happiness with great pain; and so all are exed to small and common accidents.

The sting of a wasp, a fit of the stone, the biting of a mad dog, destroy for the time: the two first, happiness; and the other, wisdom itself.

The only way for a rich man to be healthy is by exercise and abstinence, to live as if he was poor; which are esteemed the worst parts of poverty.

Leisure and solitude the best effect of riches, because mother of thought. Both avoided by most rich men, who seek company and business, which are signs of being weary of themselves.

Business, when loved, but as other diversions, of which this is in most credit. Nothing so prejudicial to the public.

How few busy to good purpose, for themselves or country!

Virgil's morals in

Hic quibus invisi fratres, &c.

And,

Hic manus ob patriam, &c.

Solomon's, "Enjoy the good of life, fear God, and keep his commandments."

Horace, in his

Non es avarus,

to

Quid te exemta juvat spinis de pluribus una?

To mortify mankind in their designs of any transcendent happiness, Solomon's Ecclesiastes, and Marcus Antoninus's Meditations, with Almanzor; the greatest princes of their times, and greatest men at all times.

The old man near the Hague, that served my
ıse from his dairy, grew so rich that he gave it
·; bought a house and furnished it at the Hague,
ıving to live at ease the rest of his life; grew so
ry of being idle, he sold it, and returned again
s dairy.

without other fears, yet that of death enough
oil the greatest enjoyments.
ver to be foreseen.—"Quod quisque vitet nun-
homini satis cautum est in horas."
ninking man can never live well, unless con-
die.
difficult to love life, and yet be willing to part

golden sentences at Delphos:—"Know thy-
'Nothing too much." "Fly contention and

—— Quid te tibi reddat amicum.

El mucho se guasta, yel poco, basta.

iends may do one little good; one enemy,
:.
ne's power to avoid enemies; they in-
ance, in a crowd sometimes, and with-
then hate always whom they once in-

men, the greatest pleasures of sense
dull for want of difficulty, or hurt by

st advantages men have by riches are,
ld, to plant, and make pleasant scenes,
ures and statues make the pleasantest

The greatest prince, possessed with superstition and fears of death, more unhappy than any private man of common fortune and well-constituted mind.

A prince above all desires of more, or fears of change, falls to enjoy the pleasures of leisure and good scenes: for in those of sense he can have but his share, in which Nature has stinted all men.

To what we are capable of a common fortune will reach; the rest is but ostentation and vanity, which are below a wise and thinking man.

> Who for each fickle fear from virtue shrinks,
> Shall in this world enjoy no worthy thing:
> No mortal man the cup of surety drinks;
> But let us pick our good from out much bad,
> That so our little world may know its king.
> *Sir Phil. Sidney.*

Quiry's* philosophy; that, when he could not get off his boots at night, said he knew as good a way; to go to sleep with them on.

Whoever can die easily, may live easily.

The pursuit of wealth by endless care and pains is grounded but upon the desire of being so much farther from want: that of power, place, and honour, but upon the prospect of being so much safer, from the respect it gives; or the having others in our power, instead of our being in theirs.

To take every thing by the right hand rather than the left, or the best end.

* A little Moor that rode postillion.

Life have I worn out thrice thirty years,
Some in much joy, many in fears;
Yet never complain'd of cold or heat,
Of winter storms, or summer sweat;
But gently took all that ungently came.
Spenser.

The last pope's way of getting the keys:—"Nil petere, nil recusare, de nemine conqueri."

How far the temper of mind and body may go towards relief of the worst conditions of fortune.

How little the best accidents or conditions of fortune towards the relieving the distempers of body or mind.

The true end of riches, (next to doing good) ease and pleasure; the common effect, to increase care and trouble.

A man's happiness all in his own opinion of himself and other things.

A fool happier in thinking well of himself than a wise man in others thinking well of him.

Any man unhappier in reproaching himself, if guilty, than in others reproaching him, if innocent.

If a reasonable man satisfy himself, it will satisfy all others that are worth the care of it.

Truth will be uppermost, one time or other, like cork, though kept down in the water.

To take care of the first ill action, which engages one in a course of them, unless owned and repented: it draws on disguise; that lying and unjust quarrels.

A shattered reputation never again entire: ho-

nour in a man to be esteemed like that of a woman; once gone, never recovered.

All great and good things in the world brought to pass by care and order.

The end of all wisdom, happiness: in private of one's own life; in public affairs, of the government.

The difference of both between one man and another, only whether a man governs his passions or his passions him.

We ought to abstain from those pleasures, which upon thought, we conclude are likely to end in more trouble or pain than they begin in joy or pleasure.

Youth naturally most inclined to the better passions; love, desire, ambition, joy: age to the worst; avarice, grief, revenge, jealousy, envy, suspicion.

As nothing in this world is unmixed, so men should temper these passions one with another according to what, by age or constitution, they are most subject.

Pride and sufficiency in opinion of one's self, and scorn in that of others, the great bane of knowledge and life.

One man's reason better than another's, as it is more convincing; else, every man's pretence to right reason alike.

It is hard going round the pole to know what the greatest number of men agree in.

The wisest men easiest to hear advice, least apt to give it.

Men have different ends, according to different

spers; are wise, as they choose ends that will isfy, and the means to attain them.

Nothing so uncertain as general reputation: a n injures me upon humour, passion, or interest, standing in his way; hates me because he has ured me; and speaks ill of me because he hates

Besides, no humour so general, to find fault with ers, as the way to value themselves.

A good man ought to be content, if he have no- ng to reproach himself.

A restlessness in men's minds to be something y are not, and have something they have not, the t of all immorality.

Coolness of temper and blood, and consequently desires, the great principle of all virtue.

This equally necessary in moderating good for- e, and bearing ill.

None turned more to philosophy than Solomon Antoninus, in the most prosperous fortunes.

The violences of Tiberius made more Stoics at me than all their schools.

Padre Paolo at seventy years: when the spirits t furnish hopes fail, it is time to live no longer.

The temper of great men should have force of al spirits, great heat, and yet equality, which are rdly found together.

A humour apt to put great weight upon small tters, and consequently to make much trouble t of little, is the greatest ingredient to unhap- ess of life: the contrary, the greatest to hap- ess.

The best philosophy, that which is natural to

men disposed to succeed in it by the
pers, though improved by educatio
thought.

Sharpness cuts slight things best
cuts through but weight and strengt
the use of intellectuals.

The two greatest mistakes among
to measure truth by every man's sin
not only to wish every body like o
believe them so too, and that they ar
in what they differ from us: both t
tural self-love.

Men come to despise one anothe
they have all the same ends with h
only proceed foolishly towards them
their ends are different.

One man will not, for any respect
his liberty so much, as to be oblige
kennel every morning; and yet, to p
save a beloved child, serve his cou
will sacrifice all the ease of his life
and life too, upon occasion.

Another will do the same for riche
One will suffer all injuries without
pursuit of avarice or ambition; and
fice all for revenge.

Pompey fled among the Egyptian
his life, after the battle of Pharsal
empire, and liberty of Rome: Cæs
once rather than live in fear of dyin
rather than outlive the liberties of
submit to a conqueror.

Atticus preferred the quiet of

riches and power, and never entered into public cares.

Yet these all contemporaries, and the four greatest of Rome.

Mr. H. to me. If a king were so great to have nothing to desire nor fear, he would live just as you do.

Does any thing look more desirable than to be able to go just one's own pace and way? which belongs, in the greatest degree, to a private life.—"Ut mihi vivam quod superest ævi."

A man, in public affairs, is like one at sea; never in his own disposal, but in that of winds and tides.

To be bound for a port one desires extremely, and to sail to it with a fair gale, is very pleasant: but to live always at sea, and upon all adventures, is only for those who cannot live at land.

> Non agimus tumidis velis, Aquilone secundo;
> Non tamen adversis ætatem ducimus Austris.

When, after much working, one's head is very well settled, the best is, not to set it a working again. The more and longer it has worked at first perhaps the finer and stronger; but every new working does but trouble and weaken it.

The greatest pleasure of life is love; the greatest treasure is contentment; the greatest possession is health; the greatest ease is sleep; and the greatest medicine is a true friend.

Happiness of life depends much upon natural temper, which turns one's thoughts either upon

good in possession and hopes, or evil in present sense or fears.

This makes the difference between melancholy and sanguine, between old and young, greater than between those placed in any different degree of fortune.

The use of plenty is the abuse of riches: for unless a rich man will, in some things, live like a poor one, he is not the better for his riches: his life will be the worse, and the shorter.

Every man will be happy; and none, by the constitution of nature, is capable of being so: we are capable of few pleasures; and reason and reflection cut off many of those.

If the sun or moon eclipses; if a comet appear; a man is in pain: if a great storm of thunder or lightning, or violent seasons, or tempests; if any thing touch his life or his fortune; any passion at heart; or if he fears for his soul—he is an unhappy man.

Pride, the ground of most passions, and most frenzies.

The design of distinguishing one's self in some kind, general to all men; and from which most troubles arise.

Man is a thinking thing, whether he will or no; all he can do is to turn his thoughts the best way.

Since, in some degree, we must always either hope or fear, we should turn our thoughts upon some design or course of life that will entertain them with some kind of hopes. "*Lente in voto.*" If that cannot be, the next is, to seek diversion from thought, by business, sports, or labour.

After all, life is but a trifle, that should be played with till we lose it; and then it is not worth regretting.

If men are so happy, from nature or fortune, as to have nothing else to complain of, they trouble themselves with the thoughts that they must, or may die.

They take no pleasure in the feast, because it must end.

There is but one general undisputed truth yet agreed on—that whatever lives must die!

Dying is a piece of our nature, as well as living; therefore, if not content with one, we cannot be perfectly so with the other.

Since death is unavoidable, nothing so impertinent as to trouble ourselves about it: but pain is not of so absolute necessity; therefore, it is pardonable to endeavour the avoiding it.

The Stoics' opinion of pain not being an evil, a mockery unnatural, and a strain of the highest disguise and affectation.

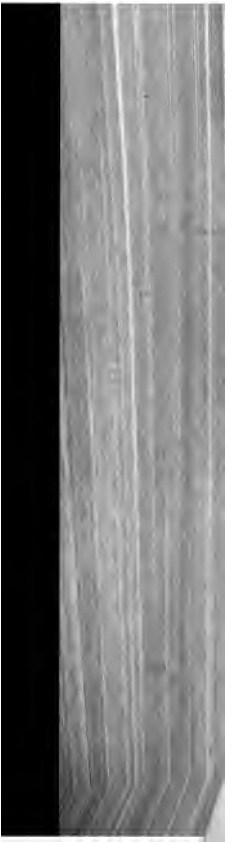
Whether conditions of life and fortune are not in all much alike: at least, so in one great part of our lives; for sleep levels the poor and the rich, the honoured and disgraced, the prince and the peasant.

Non domus aut fundi, non æris, &c.

These may entertain or heighten good humour where it is; not raise it where it is not: otherwise, it is like music in mourning.

The plant may be improved by seasons and pains, but the root must be in the ground.

The intemperate give themselves no leave to feel hunger, thirst, want of sleep, or any other strong



and natural desires; without
of eating, drinking, sleeping
but weak and faint.

Restlessness of mind is the
perance; seeking pleasures
ask, nor appetite prepare the

No possessions good, but
make of them; without w
friends, servants, do but h
more unhappy.

HEADS DESIG

AN

ESSAY ON CON

Men naturally or generally s
avoid it with themselves.

Both are necessary; one
other improves it: one, wi
fined.

Ability is drawn out into
accidents.

Paulum sepultæ dis
Celata virtus.

Sometimes, in one age,
great occasions; in another
out great men: and in both
the other.

No man willingly lives w
tion: delicacy and distinctio
tary: those that do upon vo

of some degrees of frenzy; the mind, like the stomach, when empty, preying upon itself.

Scipio, of all active and great men, the most contemplative, yet open to Lælius and other private friends.

Women and children, some sort of fools and madmen, the greatest talkers.

Men talk without thinking, and think without talking.

Order, the effect of thought, and cause of all good productions.

Silence in company (if not dulness or modesty) is observation or discretion.

To play or wrestle well should be used with those that do it better than you.

A man among children, long a child; a child among men, soon a man.

Nothing keeps a man from being rich, like thinking he has enough; nothing from knowledge and wisdom, like thinking he has both.

Nothing so unreasonable or insufferable in common conversation, as sufficiency.

Measuring all reason by our own, the commonest and greatest weakness; is an encroachment upon the common right of mankind.

Neither general rules, nor general practice, to be found farther than notion.

Taste in conversation, from love or friendship, esteem or interest, pleasantness or amusement: the two first engage the first part of our lives; the two second, the middle; and the last, the latter end.

Something like home that is not home, like alone that is not alone, to be wished, and only found in a friend, or in his house.

Men that do not think of the present, will be thinking of the past or future: therefore, business or conversation is necessary to fix their thoughts on the present.

In the rest, seldom satisfaction, often discontent and trouble, unless to very sanguine humours.

The same in general speculations: witness Solomon and Antoninus; for whose thoughts are not lost in the immensity of matter, the infinity of forms, the variety of productions, and continual vicissitude or change of one to the other?

In conversation, humour is more than wit, easiness more than knowledge; few desire to learn, or think they need it; all desire to be pleased, or, if not, to be easy.

A fool may say many wise things; a wise man no foolish ones: good sense runs throughout.

Mr. Grantam's fool's reply to a great man that asked whose fool he was—"I am Mr. Grantam's fool: pray, whose fool are you?"

Sudden replies esteemed the best and pleasantest veins of wit; not always so of good sense.

Of all passions, none so soon and so often turns the brain as pride.

A little vein of folly or whim, pleasant in conversation; because it gives a liberty of saying things, that discreet men, though they will not say, are willing to hear.

The first ingredient in conversation is truth, the next good sense, the third good humour, and the fourth wit.

This last was formerly left to fools and buffoons kept in all great families.

Henry IV. of France, and King James I. of Eng-

land, first gave repute to that sort of wit; increased by King Charles II.

In King Charles I.'s time, all wit, love, and honour, heightened by the wits of that time into romance.

Lord Goreign took the contrepied, and turned all into ridicule.

He was followed by the duke of Buckingham; and that vein, favoured by King Charles II. brought it in vogue.

Truth is allowed the most esteemable quality: the lie is the greatest reproach; therefore allowed formerly a just occasion of combat by law, and since that time by honour, in private duels.

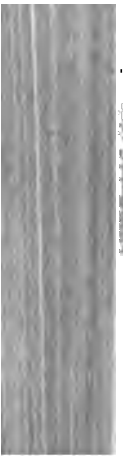
Good breeding as necessary a quality in conversation, to accomplish all the rest, as grace in motion and dancing.

It is harder, in that, to dance a courant well than a jig: so in conversation, even, easy, and agreeable, more than points of wit; which, unless very naturally they fall in of themselves, and not too often, are disliked in good company; because they pretend to more than the rest, and turn conversation from good sense to wit, from pleasant to ridicule, which are the meaner parts.

To make others' wit appear more than one's own, a good rule in conversation: a necessary one, to let others take notice of your wit, and never do it yourself.

Flattery, like poison, requires, of all others, the finest infusion.

Of all things, the most nauseous, the most shocking, and hardest to bear.



most natural, than to flattery, which is
This is learned in the slavery of court
tune; the other in the freedom of the c
a fortune one is content with.

Nothing so nauseous as undistinguish
it is like a whore, or an hostess, who l
upon every body that comes in.

It is fit only for such persons of qua
no other way to draw company, and
such as are not welcome any where else.

Court conversation, without love or b
all the other the most tasteless.

A court properly a fair; the end of i
gain: for none would come to be jostled
that is easy at home; nor go to service,
he has enough to live well of himself.

Those that come to either for entertai
the dupes of the traders, or, at least, the

All the skill of a court is to follow
present humour, talk the present langu

men, how many lovely and agreeable women, I have outlived, among my acquaintance and friends, methinks it looks impertinent to be still alive.

Changes in veins of wit, like those of habits, or other modes.

Upon king Charles II.'s return, none more out of fashion among the new courtiers than the old earl of Norwich, that was esteemed the greatest wit in his father's time among the old.

Our thoughts are expressed by speech, our passions and motions as well without it.

Telling our griefs lessens them, and doubles our joys.

To hate company unnatural, or to be always silent in it.

Sociable, a quality ascribed to mankind.

Yet hatred, or distaste, brought Timon to live alone, and the shipwrecked men in an island of the Indies.

It is very different to live in little company, or in none.

Proper for age to retire, as for youth to produce itself in the world.

One shows merit, or the hopes that they may one day have it: the other has none; they never can.

Proper for one to show excellences in any kind; for the other, to hide their defaults.

It is not to live, to be hid all one's life; but, if one has been abroad all day, one may be allowed to go home upon any great change of weather or company.

Nothing so useful as well-chosen conversation, or so pernicious as ill.

There may be too much, as well as too little.

Solitude damps thought and wit; too much company dissipates and hinders it from fixing.

In retreat a man feels more how life passes; if he likes it, is the happier; if he dislikes it, the more miserable, and ought to change for company, business, or entertainments, which keep a man from his own thoughts and reflections.

Study gives strength to the mind; conversation, grace: the first apt to give stiffness, the other suppleness: one gives substance and form to the statue, the other polishes it.

The great happiness is to have a friend to observe and tell one of one's faults, whom one has reason to esteem, and is apt to believe.

The great miscarriages of life come from the want of a good pilot, or from a sufficiency to follow one's own course or humour.

Sometimes out of pride to contradict others, or show one needs no instruction.

Do nothing to lose common reputation, which is the best possession of life, especially that of honour and truth.

Roughness or authority in giving counsel, easiness to receive all, or obstinacy to receive none, equally to be avoided.

Too much delicacy in one or the other, of ill effect.

Mark what makes other men esteemed, and imitate; what disesteemed, and avoid it.

Many very learned and able, without being agreeable; more the contrary.

Company to be avoided, that are good for nothing; to be sought and frequented, that excel in some quality or other.

Of all excellences that make conversation, good sense and good nature the most necessary, humour the pleasantest.

To submit blindly to none, to preserve the liberty of one's own reason, to dispute for instruction, not victory, and yield to reason as soon as it appears to us, from whence soever it comes.

This is to be found in all conditions and degrees of men; in a farmer or miller sometimes, as well as a lawyer or divine; among the learned and the great, though their reputation or manner often imposes on us.

The best rules to form a young man; to talk little, to hear much, to reflect alone upon what has passed in company, to distrust one's own opinions, and value others that deserve it.

The chief ingredients into the composition of those qualities that gain esteem and praise, are good nature, truth, good sense, and good breeding.

Good nature is seen in a disposition to say and do what one thinks will please or profit others.

Good breeding, in doing nothing one thinks will either hurt or displease them.

Good nature and good sense come from our births or tempers; good breeding and truth, chiefly by education and converse with men: yet truth seems much in one's blood, and is gained too by good sense and reflection; that nothing is a greater possession, nor of more advantage to those that have it, as well as those that deal with it.

Offensive and undistinguished raillery comes from ill nature, and desire of harm to others, though without good to one's self; or vanity, and a desire of valuing ourselves, by showing others' faults and



follies, and the comparison with our
from them.

This vein in the world was origi
but, because that would not pass wit
blows, men of more wit than cour
this refinement, more dangerous to o
to themselves.

Charles Brandon's motto at a tou
his marriage with the queen (the tr
horse being half cloth of gold, and
frize) :

Cloth of gold, do not despise,
Though thou art match'd with cloth
Cloth of frize, be not too bold,
Though thou art match'd with cloth

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THE END.

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